C. SIMMS
& Simms
BOOKSELLER & STATIONER
Exchange & Manchester.

33915/C

W. III. 12.

22101539705

LET
23d24
1950?

Willard 517
10/07

PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HARDING AND LEPARD.

1835.

BYEA. 41. AA8 (2)

19507

WELLCOME LIBRARY INSTITUTE

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

. QUEEN ELIZABETH, - - ZUCCHERO. 1603
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.

2. JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, MARK GERARD. 1604
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

3. GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, - 1605
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

4. CHARLES BLOUNT, BARON MONTJOY AND EARL OF DEVONSHIRE, - - - PANTOXA. 1606
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

5. THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF DORSET, - 1608
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

6. SIR THOMAS BODLEY, - - - JANSEN. 1612
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

7. ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY. ZUCCHERO. 1612
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House.

8. HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, - - MYTENS. 1612
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

9. HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, ZUCCHERO. 1614
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard.

10. LADY ARABELLA STUART, - - VAN SOMER. 1615
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

11. THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT BRACKLEY, - 1617
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford, at Cleveland House.

12. SIR WALTER RALEIGH, - - Zucchero. 1618
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

13. MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE, Gerard. 1621
From the Collection of Sir John Shelley Sidney, Bart. at Penshurst.

14. THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER, Jansen. 1621
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Exeter, at Burleigh House.

15. HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, Mirevelt. 1624
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

16. JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, Van Somer. 1624
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

17. CHARLES HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, - - - - 1624
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

18. LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND, Van Somer. 1624
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

19. FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN, Van Somer. 1626
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

20. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK, Zucchero. 1626
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard.

Engraved by W. T. Fry.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

OB. 1603.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

London, Published Sept.r 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It has been an inveterate fashion to place this Princess in the class of wise monarchs. Whether this has been founded on an impartial and judicious examination of her character, or on the report of certain great authorities, to whose sincerity as well as judgement a ready credit has been given, may be, however, fairly questioned. Henry the fourth of France, who, it should be recollected, anxiously sought her friendship, professed a high respect for her talents, and took care to make it known to her; and the acute but eccentric Sixtus the fifth regretted that his vow of celibacy excluded him from the possibility of an union with her, the issue of which he said would have been naturally qualified to govern the world. Another great person, of equal fame with these, and I think of equal rank, answered to one who was inclined to depreciate the powers of her mind, and to ascribe the success and glory of her reign to the sagacity of her counsellors by asking "whether he ever heard of a weak Prince who chose wise ministers?" a remark, by the way, not very applicable to her, who had but the negative merit of retaining in office those who had been chosen by her father and brother. A few such testimonies and smart sayings from such sources would be at all times sufficient to fix the opinions of those who read history for amusement, that is to say of nearly the whole of mankind. It may seem bold to declare that the history of Elizabeth's reign furnishes no substantial evidence that she possessed remarkable talents, either solid or brilliant. She had however violent passions, and the sudden bursts of these will frequently be mistaken by the multitude for proofs of exalted talent. Her's were all of the unamiable order, but their baleful effects were generally neutralized by counteraction on each other. Thus it was her timidity

that prevented her from emulating the horrible tyranny of her father, and her pride that saved her from the disgrace of open profligacy. We seek in vain through the whole of her life for instances of generosity, benevolence, or gratitude, those bright jewels of a crown which Princes to whom nature has denied them have generally been prudent enough to counterfeit.—But we must hasten to our brief compilation, and leave these few remarks to the censure which may await them. They will not be popular, but it will be difficult to contradict them.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the eighth and Anne Bullen, was born at Greenwich on the seventh of September, 1533. The frantic despotism of her father surrounded her very cradle with terrors, and planted with thorns her path to womanhood. The imperfect divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and the vote of a servile Parliament, had invested her with a factitious and doubtful right to the inheritance of the crown, of which the speedily succeeding alledged infidelity and attainder of her mother, followed by another specific act of the same body, legally deprived her. Mary, her paternal sister, was living, with pretensions which, although they had been in a great measure similarly annulled, furnished ample ground for discord and competition. The birth of a Prince, afterwards Edward the sixth, as it seemed to settle, though to their mutual prejudice, the succession to the Throne, gave them a chance of safety; but Henry and his obedient Parliament, soon after that event replaced them in the order of inheritance, and he specially recognised their right in his will. These dispositions however, powerful as they may seem, were insufficient to remove the prejudices which had arisen out of the confusion that he had previously created, and the premature death of Edward produced a jealousy between the sisters in which Elizabeth, though too young to appear an active party, was old enough to become an object of persecution.

She had been placed after the decease of her father under the care and in the mansion of his widow, Catherine Par, who

presently, with unbecoming haste, took the Lord Admiral Seymour, brother to the Protector Duke of Somerset, for her fourth husband. The extravagant ambition of this nobleman undoubtedly suggested to him the idea of gaining Elizabeth's hand, and the means through which he endeavoured to accomplish his purpose were such as might have been expected from his impetuous and unprincipled character. He sought by the baseness of personal seduction to gain that absolute controul over her mind with which her fears of discovery, or her affection, or both, could scarcely have failed to invest him. Of his success in this detestable part of his plan we are of course ignorant, but it appears that Elizabeth regarded him at least with complacency. The singular circumstances of their intercourse were at length made known to Edward's ministers; the young Princess was hastily removed; and a careful inquiry was instituted, many curious documents relative to which are preserved in Haynes's fine collection of Cecil Papers.

The uncertainties and vicissitudes of her youth had not interrupted the regularity of her education. Her surprising facility in the acquisition of languages is commemorated in terms even of rapture in the Latin epistles of her tutor, Ascham. This faculty, and her regular profession of the reformed faith, increased the favour which the tender nature of her brother, the admirable Edward, had always extended to her, and they seem to have been much together after she left the Queen Dowager, and are said to have derived mutual improvement from the joint prosecution of their studies. Edward however was prevailed on, in the feebleness of his last hours, to dispose of the crown to the exclusion of both the Princesses, and in the short contest, if it deserve that name, between Mary and Jane Grey, we are told that Elizabeth raised, we are not informed how, nor is it easy to conceive, a thousand horse for the aid of her sister's cause. She was received therefore with distinction and smiles at the new court; but a secret jealousy lurked in the bosom of Mary. She saw in

Elizabeth a rival, not only in regal claim, but in love, for the Queen had certainly meditated to marry the unfortunate Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who on his part was enamoured, with what return we know not, of her sister. The first act of Mary's first parliament, by decreeing the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and annulling the sentence of their divorce, virtually reduced Elizabeth again to the condition of a bastard; and that she might have no room to doubt that such was the Queen's interpretation of it, she was presently after placed in the court ceremonial beneath the descendants of her father's sisters. This proof of Mary's aversion was followed by numerous slights and affronts, which at length becoming intolerable, Elizabeth obtained permission to retire into the country, where however she is said to have been closely watched by two trusty servants of the Crown, whom she had been obliged to accept as principal officers of her household. But the tranquillity of her retreat was of short duration. She was accused, certainly with little probability, of having been privy to Sir Thomas Wyat's insurrection; was recalled to the Court when in a state of severe illness, strictly examined by the Council, and, after several days, permitted to return; again seized on some new suspicions, and conducted to Hampton Court as a state Prisoner, and from thence to close confinement in the Tower of London.

It is remarkable that at this seemingly hopeless period two bills brought into Parliament by her bitter enemy, Bishop Gardiner, the one expressly declaring her illegitimacy, and incapacity to inherit the Crown, the other to enable the Queen to appoint her successor, should have been rejected by large majorities. Mary became alarmed at this unexpected opposition to her will in so important a quarter; the rigour of the Princess's imprisonment was presently abated, and she was soon after conducted to the palace of Richmond, where she was offered her liberty if she would accept the hand of the Duke of Savoy. It is probable that to this condition was annexed some proposal

tending to an abandonment of her claim to the English Crown, for she refused it with a magnanimous perseverance. She was now transferred to Woodstock, and again confined with some severity, and thus she remained till the marriage of her sister to Philip of Spain, when that Prince, among other endeavours to gain popularity with his new subjects, procured her release, at least from the rigours of her captivity, but she was yet watched with the closest attention. The resentment and jealousy of the Queen however gradually abated, and the humility of Elizabeth's concessions kept pace with the increase of her sister's complaisance. When she was at length admitted to personal intercourse and intimacy, she attended all the high ceremonies of the Romish Church with seeming devotion, and even partook of the sacrament of the altar. The mutual indifference, or rather aversion, of the King and Queen towards each other, which soon after occurred, operated in her favour. Philip, lately her apparent friend, from some political views regarding his continental interests now reiterated with vehemence the suit of the Duke of Savoy, and Mary, whose favourite measure it had lately been, as earnestly supported Elizabeth in the rejection of it. The Princess presently returned this service by refusing the hand of the heir-apparent to the Crown of Sweden, on the alledged ground of the indignity which the King, his father, had offered to Mary by directing his ambassador to propose it in the first instance to herself. The carriage of the sisters towards each other was assuming the appearance of affection, when the Queen died, on the seventeenth of November, 1558.

Elizabeth mounted the Throne amid an extravagance of approbation, flowing from the revived hopes of a people who had been long strangers to the regular protection of laws, and slaves to so many varieties of despotism, civil and religious. They were not disappointed. The first act of her prerogative laid the ground for all her succeeding credit, and fixed the character of her long reign. It was the appointment of William Cecil to the office of

Secretary of State, and in effect to that of Prime Minister. That great and good man had been, from the purest motives, her secret correspondent and adviser during the long season of oppression and difficulty through which she had laboured. The strict seclusion in which she had lived, even from her infancy, had rendered her a stranger to all other statesmen, and, without meaning to deny that a sense of obligation to him had its due share in influencing her choice, it may be said that she fell as it were naturally into his hands. He formed her ministry, and presided in it with unparalleled honesty and disinterestedness, and with the rarest combination of wisdom, fortitude, and good temper, that history can produce in the conduct of a public man. The constant activity of these admirable qualities for years averted from his mistress and from the realm the dangers with which her foibles threatened both. From the hour of his appointment those exertions became necessary, for it was almost in the same hour that she chose for her favourite that monster of ambition and profligacy, Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. It would perhaps be too much to ascribe wholly to that unworthy partiality the resolution which she professed already to have taken against matrimony, for it was to her first Parliament, as soon as it had assembled, that she expressed it. Her brother-in-law Philip of Spain, Eric, King of Sweden, and the Archduke Charles of Austria, made their addresses, and were refused accordingly. A few too of the highest of her subjects entertained distant hopes of being chosen by her, and others of them have been mentioned to whom perhaps the thought never occurred. That Dudley however aspired to her hand, and with a boldness unknown to the rest, is certain; and that, to ensure at least the possibility of obtaining it, he connived at the murther of his wife is scarcely doubtful.

Elizabeth's jealousy of the Queen of Scots commenced with the accession of the one to the English throne, and of the other, as Queen consort, to that of France, events nearly simultaneous. The importance that Scotland had derived from the French

marriage, which had made it in effect a colony of France, was justly dreaded, and no time was lost in demonstrating the vigilance which it seemed to demand. A fleet sailed to the Frith of Forth, and a powerful army was marched to the borders, and the Regent, Mary of Guise, already perplexed by the insurrectionary spirit of the infant kirk, submitted by the treaty of Edinburgh to terms highly advantageous to the interest of England. In the political effects of the reformation in Scotland, and indeed elsewhere, Elizabeth found a useful lesson for her own conduct at home. Unincumbered by conscientious scruples and niceties of faith, she determined to reject, in pursuing the separation from the Church of Rome, every novelty in which the most remote tendency might be traced towards the abridgement of temporal dominion. The dismission of those splendid ceremonies, and ardent forms of worship, which biassed the judgement by captivating the imagination, was wrested from her with difficulty by her ministers and prelates. She would indeed willingly have retained the whole of the Catholic system, except its dependence on the see of Rome, but it was impracticable. Recent events had prejudiced against it a vast majority of the nation, and the final establishment of the Anglican Church was more indebted to the headstrong and cruel violence of Mary than to the wisdom, the beneficence, or the piety, of her sister. To Elizabeth however, be her motives what they might, it owes its escape from the baseness of Calvinism.

The death of Francis the second of France, in the winter of 1560, before he could be said to have reached manhood, was the signal for that well-known breach between Elizabeth and his lovely relict, which terminated in the tragical death of the one, and the endless disgrace of the other. Mary's influence in France had expired with her husband, and she returned to Scotland with regret, though to assume an independent crown. Before her departure from Paris she had been pressed by the English ambassador to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which was

rendered peculiarly odious to her by a stipulation for her abandonment of the royal title and arms of England, her habit of quartering which had been always sternly and most reasonably resisted by Elizabeth. She evaded the demand by various pretences, and Elizabeth in return refused her request of a safe conduct for her voyage, which she, on her part, resented by a message full of anger and disdain. From this period a bitter enmity, at first rather the result of ordinary passion than of political discord, commenced between them, and was gradually aggravated by mutual injuries and affronts till it produced the purest reciprocal hatred. That Mary however cherished, or rather was persuaded to entertain, a hope that she might effectually dispute Elizabeth's right to a throne to which herself was presumptive heir is certain. The incessant instances of her father-in-law, Henry the second, of the haughty family of Lorraine, and at length of Spain, had raised an inclination in her mind to which the measure of her own ambition would have been perhaps incompetent. Philip, who had gladly coalesced with Elizabeth to counterbalance the weight of France, now, on its removal from the scale, espoused the party of Mary. He was justly esteemed the temporal head of the Catholics throughout Europe, and with little difficulty excited in those of England an aversion to their Queen, and a proportionate affection to her rival. Thus Elizabeth became compelled to use those measures of severity against the Catholics which distinguished her reign, while she felt secretly inclined towards them, and to countenance, or rather to endure, the Calvinists, or Puritans, as they were here called, whom she detested. To those of Scotland, now in open rebellion, she secretly extended every favour that her own interests, or her anger against Mary, could suggest. The influence of these circumstances, and of the policy founded on them, may be discerned in almost all the important features of more than thirty years of her reign.

The two Queens however soon found it necessary to dissemble.

They assumed a dignified decency of conduct towards each other, and entered into negotiations. Mary offered to make the clearest acknowledgement of Elizabeth's present title to the throne, on condition of receiving a recognition of her own right to the succession, which was refused, and the mutual disappointment, though it increased the obstinacy of each, was borne by each with a well affected patience. Elizabeth's denial arose not more from her enmity to the Queen of Scots than from her general aversion to all, however distant, who might in possibility inherit the throne. She seemed desirous even to extinguish the royal race; and of this almost insane foible the long and horrible persecution, which she commenced about this time, of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine Grey, for their marriage, affords one remarkable instance.

In consonance with the new policy which Elizabeth had unwillingly adopted, she took up with vigour the cause of the Protestants, who where in arms in France, and after some ineffectual negotiation in their favour with Charles the ninth, or rather with his mother, Catherine de Medicis, sent a strong force, and from time to time large supplies of money, into Normandy to aid their General, the Prince of Condé, from whom she received in return the possession of Havre de Grace, which she resolved to keep as an equivalent for Calais. This however, and all other objects of the plan, were within a few months defeated by the sudden submission of the Protestant leaders to the Crown. The large disbursements required by these purposes obliged her, early in 1563, to summon her second Parliament, which, like its predecessor, commenced its proceedings by beseeching her to marry, and was answered ambiguously. The Queen of Scots, in the mean time, encouraged the proposals which she was continually receiving through her uncles, the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, for a second marriage, an event which Elizabeth contemplated with terror, not only for the strong probability of its increasing the line of inheritors of the English Crown, but for the power which

Mary could not but at once acquire by a matrimonial alliance with one of the great royal Houses of Europe. To endeavour to prevent the one was hopeless, but she sought to avoid the danger of the other by at length proposing to acknowledge implicitly Mary's right to succeed to the throne of England, on the condition that she should take a husband from among the English nobility. The Queen of Scots received the motion with affected complacency, and, after long hesitation, Elizabeth availed herself of the opportunity of dissembling her own passion for him by naming Leicester, whom she knew would be in the end rejected, while Mary, with equal artifice, concealed the indignation with which so unworthy an offer justly inspired her.

Elizabeth's main purposes where however answered for the time. By this negotiation, and others equally extravagant, she prevented Mary for nearly two years from hearkening to any becoming proposals of marriage, and postponed any definitive answer on the grand question of the succession. Mary's patience was at length subdued. She dispatched a letter to Elizabeth in terms so wrathful that her ministers, dreading lest their private quarrel might produce a breach between the two countries, prevailed on her to conciliate, and for that purpose Sir James Melvil was sent to the English court. Those who would contemplate the utmost extravagance of female vanity, envy, and folly, may find it in that minister's memoirs, in his recitals of Elizabeth's conversations with him. She now recommended Darnley for Mary's hand, and sent him to her court, and privately intreated her to restore the honours and estates of his father, the Earl of Lennox, who laboured under an attainder. Mary was at once captivated by his fine person, and made preparations for the marriage, when Elizabeth dispatched an order for Darnley's instant return, imprisoned his mother and brother in the Tower, and seized his father's English estates; and even in this miserable faithlessness and caprice some historians have affected to discern a profound policy. Mary impelled by various passions, now hastened her nuptials

with the catholic Darnley amidst the outcries of the reformers, whose leaders Elizabeth, after having seized the opportunity to incite to an unsuccessful rebellion, loaded with reproaches for their treason, and spurned from her presence, when they fled to her Court from the vengeance of their mistress. The strange and horrible circumstances which followed this marriage in rapid succession are so well known that to do more than name them here would seem scornful of historical recollection. Mary's partiality to Rizzio, and his assassination; the murther of Darnley; her detestable union with Bothwell; the league against her of her chief nobility, and their subsequent capture of her person; her imprisonment, escape, and fatal flight into England, all occurred within little more than two years. In the midst of these distractions, to Elizabeth's infinite chagrin, Mary brought forth her only child, afterwards our James the first.

The conduct adopted by Elizabeth towards Scotland and its miserable monarch during this momentous crisis was wholly unexpected. She who had been the bitterest foe to Mary when her youth, beauty, innocence, and power, made her the favourite of Europe, now, when worn with care, stripped of dominion, and more than suspected of horrible crimes, suddenly adopted her cause, offered her every aid, and threatened her enemies with summary vengeance. Those who in seeking for refined political causes so frequently overlook obvious motives have ascribed this anomaly to an insidious design to tempt Mary to the step which she afterwards unhappily took, while others who judged under the honest dictates of natural feeling, aiming as much beneath the mark, have placed it to the account of pity and generosity, virtues equally strangers to Elizabeth's breast. The truth is that her dread of an example of rebellion in a land divided only by an imaginary line from her own exceeded her hatred to Mary, and that the circumstances of the time prevented her from maintaining a posture of neutrality between that Princess and her insurgent subjects. Mary, however, confided in the sincerity of

her professions; unexpectedly fled to her for protection; and found herself a prisoner; and in the mean time her infant son was declared King of Scotland. It became necessary for Elizabeth to decide as suddenly on the part that she was now to act, and her determination involved questions of high policy; her ministers were therefore obliged to share with her in the iniquities which followed. She commenced them by assuming a jurisdiction wholly illegitimate. Mary was induced, partly by the necessity of her critical situation, and partly by a promise that the leaders of the party which had deposed her should be called on for a justification of that act, to submit to the judgment of Elizabeth not only the trial of such their conduct, but also the awful question of her own respecting the murther of Darnley. Commissioners were forthwith appointed for the cognizance of these great causes, and the rebel Lords were cited to London; not, as it presently appeared, to apologize for their delinquencies, but to assume the characters of prosecutors or witnesses against their captive Sovereign. By a series of the most profound artifices the Regent Murray was induced to give the fullest proof of Mary's guilt by the production of her letters to Bothwell, and she was instantly placed in that close confinement from which a violent death released her at the end of nineteen years.

If Elizabeth sought security or tranquillity in the prosecution of these unwarrantable measures she was indeed sorely disappointed. Even while they were in progress the Duke of Norfolk formed a design to marry the Queen of Scots; imparted it in confidence to several of the nobility of both nations, and was betrayed by Leicester; was excused for the time, and three years after, having reiterated his scheme, with aggravated circumstances, was put to death. In the mean time a hasty and ill concerted insurrection, professing for its object the restoration of the ancient faith, and headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, broke forth in the North, the suppression of which was speedily followed by another yet more imprudent.

Mary, from the first hour of her unjust restraint, became the head of the English Catholics by their tacit and unpremeditated consent, while she, in like manner, beheld in them her only efficient friends. Under the influence of a temper naturally sanguine, she seems to have been ever ready to suggest, or to adopt, any plan, however visionary, by which she might possibly regain her liberty, and replace herself on a throne which she had disgraced, and environed with difficulty and danger. Elizabeth, on her part, equally dreading to restore, on any terms, an enemy whom she had offended beyond all hope of reconciliation, or to make common cause with rebellious subjects, amused each party with professions never to be verified, and with treaties instituted but to be broken up without effect. Amidst all these causes for just alarm, Pius the fifth in 1571 excommunicated her in due form, and by the same Bull declared her title to the Crown wholly void, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance.

The consolation which she derived from the reformers was very inadequate to this accumulation of evils. She flattered them on all occasions with expressions of more than maternal tenderness, and received in return the most abject professions of devotion, or rather worship; but they who had overthrown the ancient Church were of course not long before they turned their attention to the correction of the State. A freedom of speech hitherto unknown began to distinguish the House of Commons; privileges were sometimes talked of there; and her prerogatives were not unfrequently questioned. As the heat of her temper ebbed and flowed, she sometimes blustered, and sometimes conceded, and occasionally, which was the worst of all, retracted her specific threats in the very hour in which she had uttered them. The die however was cast, and she had assumed the character of patroness of the Protestant persuasion throughout Europe. To maintain that reputation, she again succoured about this period the Huguenots, as they were called, now in formidable array against Charles the ninth, but was induced to withdraw her aid by insidious propo-

sals from that Prince, and to endure with a sullen patience even that consummation of wickedness, the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At this very period she undertook the friendly office of sponsor to his infant daughter, and listened with an affected complacency to another, but still fruitless offer of the hand of the Duke of Alençon, whom, as well as his elder brother, the Duke of Anjou, soon after Henry the third, she had formerly rejected. The public anxiety regarding the succession to the Crown, repeatedly expressed by her Parliaments, prevented the unpopularity which her seeming apathy towards the Protestant cause might have provoked, while her utter aversion to their remonstrances on the subject of marriage tempted her as frequently to amuse them by engaging in negotiations to that effect, always insincere.

The death of Charles, and the formation, by the talents and boldness of the family of Guise, of the League, altered most of these relations. Philip, from whose interest she had hoped to detach France, now openly declared himself protector of that celebrated combination, and avowed with more frankness than was usually found in his policy, his determination to extirpate the reformed religion. Elizabeth's safety, as well as her reputation, demanded an undisguised resistance on her part, and the sudden revolt of that Monarch's oppressed subjects in the Low Countries, together with the horrible vengeance inflicted on them by the Duke of Alva, rendered her interference not less popular than politic. The States of Holland and Zealand offered to swear allegiance to her, and were refused. She supplied them liberally however from time to time with arms and money, and her ministers were already occupied in prepartaions for that warfare with Spain the triumphant event of which is yet so grateful to English minds. Meanwhile the Catholics at home were watched and pursued with renewed severity, in proof of which the Queen herself, in one of her progresses, imprisoned, by her own special authority, a gentleman who was in the very act of sumptuously entertaining her at his mansion, because some of

her attendants had found an image of the Virgin concealed in one of his outhouses. Of such absurd extravagance and injustice could she be capable when left to the unadvised exercise of her own will!

For several years past Elizabeth had governed Scotland by her influence over the Regent Morton, who was her creature and pensioner, but James was now emerging from childhood, and a small party, secretly under the direction of the Duke of Guise, persuaded him to assume the administration of the kingdom. Morton, after some struggle, in which she vainly endeavoured to support him, was arrested, tried, and executed; a scheme was formed to associate Mary with her son in the sovereign authority; and the interest of the Court of France was fruitlessly exerted to the utmost to that effect. It is somewhat singular that Elizabeth should have chosen this period to encourage the renewed addresses of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou. The negociations on this remarkable occasion were instituted and conducted solely by herself; and her Council, hesitating to answer her appeal to its opinion by an unqualified approbation of the match, was almost reprimanded by her. The nation was struck with astonishment that a woman who from her early youth had always declared even an abhorrence of marriage should, at the age of forty-eight, suddenly determine to give her hand to a Prince more than twenty years younger than herself, and little recommended either by talents, person, or manners. Every part of her conduct relating to this strange affair was marked by the most extravagant caprice; Sir Philip Sidney composed with great freedom a long and laboured argument, or rather invective, against the match, and it was received without disapprobation; while a Mr. Stubbs, a barrister, and a man of considerable merit, and unquestionable loyalty, followed the same course, and was punished by the loss of his right hand, and a long imprisonment. Anjou at length arrived privately, and she received him with all the airs of an impassioned damsel of romance. He left England for a short

interval, and, on his return, after some secret interviews, she presented him to her Court, in the full presence of which, among other amorous fooleries, she took a ring from her finger, and placed it on his, in token, as it seemed, of a confirmation of their contract, and six weeks after they coolly parted to meet no more. These mysterious absurdities, for which no one has hitherto satisfactorily accounted, might have arisen out of a wildness of resentment and jealousy suddenly excited by her recent discovery of Leicester's private marriage to the Countess of Essex. As she had been weak enough to betray publicly the influence of those passions over her by imprisoning him for that fact, it cannot be unreasonable to suppose that she was capable of flattering herself that she might mortify him, in her turn, by an affectation of fondness for another lover.

Elizabeth was now surrounded by enemies. The puritans menaced her monarchical power, and the catholics her life, and their hatred to each other was exceeded only by their joint hatred of her. In the various plots of the latter, which at this time followed each other in rapid succession, the captive Mary was always directly or indirectly a party. It was deemed necessary to remove her from the milder custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose several mansions she had been for several years confined, and to place her in the hands of sterner keepers. A bond of association for the defence of Elizabeth was proposed by the Court, and eagerly signed by multitudes of nobles and gentry. This instrument was presently after adopted by a new Parliament, and put into the form of an act, with the addition of a clause, clearly foreboding the ultimate fate of Mary, by which the Queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for the trial of any one who, pretending a right to the Crown, might contrive any invasion, insurrection, or assassination, against her, and leaving the punishment of such offender to her discretion. The same Parliament, a majority of which was puritanical, among other awkward strides towards independence, made some resolutions trenching on

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy; attacked the authority of the prelacy; and were reprimanded by her in a speech in which she plainly told them that she considered the puritans not less dangerous than the catholics. Those of the Low countries, a peaceful because a commercial people, worn with warfare and oppression, once more besought her to become their Sovereign, and were again refused. It became however a question whether she should wage offensive war against Spain on their behalf, and Elizabeth, usually indifferent where her passions were not excited, left the decision to her ministers. After long debates, they determined it affirmatively. Drake, whose courage and nautical skill had been abundantly proved in former enterprizes, was dispatched against the Spanish colonies in America, and was eminently successful, and a strong military force was landed in Holland; but here the Queen's inveterate partiality towards Leicester interfered; she named him to the command of the expedition; it failed, through his ambition and inexperience; she quarrelled with him, and forgave him; and he returned, despised by the States, and hated at home by all but his infatuated mistress.

The termination of Mary's sufferings approached. The rage of the persecuted catholics of England, incessantly fomented by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the heads of the League, concentrated itself in a new plot, involving at once the assassination of the Queen, an insurrection, and a foreign invasion. Mary, whom it was proposed to place on the English Throne, had been long in close correspondence with the conspirators, and was acquainted, even to minuteness, with all the details of this awful enterprise, which were at length betrayed by one of the parties, and sifted by Walsingham, a minister who seems to have been born but for such employment, and whose vigilance had previously detected the general design. Fourteen of the leaders were seized and executed, but to dispose of Mary required deliberation, in the course of which let it be remembered that Leicester, a known poisoner, proposed that she should be so removed, and, with that

hypocrisy for which he was little less infamous, sent a clergyman to persuade Walsingham by scriptural argument that in such a case the expedient would be lawful. It was however determined that she should be tried on the act which had been lately passed with the peculiar view, it may be said, of so applying it. Of the catastrophe of the tragedy it is needless to speak. In reflecting on the first treacherous and inhospitable detention of this Princess; on the various horrors of her tedious imprisonment; and the final sacrifice of her life; all equally barbarous and unjust; we almost forget the crimes and the follies of her earlier time, and are inclined to consider her concluding designs on the throne and the life of her great enemy but as measures of retaliation which may readily find an apology in the infirmity of human passions, however lofty. For the conduct of Elizabeth too may a similar plea be urged in extenuation; but what were the passions which actuated her? vanity, envy, and jealousy, succeeded by groveling fear, and insatiable malice. The incomparable resignation and heroism which marked the death of the one almost compleated the redemption of her fame: the vile dissimulation of the other which followed has plunged her memory into irretrievable infamy. She declared, with oaths and tears, that she had forbidden the delivery of the warrant signed by her for the execution; and to support the deception, doomed to disgrace and poverty her faithful servant, the Secretary Davison, in whose hands she had placed it, directing him to forward it, while she lamented to him that Mary's keepers had not prevented the necessity for it by assassinating their prisoner.

James's resentment of the murther of his mother did not exceed the forms of decency, and presently wholly subsided; while the attention of England was suddenly turned from it to the mighty attack meditated by Spain, which had long been foreseen by Elizabeth's ministers, and was now generally known to the public. It had been repeatedly disappointed by the successful enterprises of Drake, and other nautical adventurers, when at length Europe

resounded with the news of the equipment of the Armada which the Spaniards called "invincible," the total discomfiture of which it is scarcely necessary even to mention. Leicester, whom the Queen had appointed to the chief command of the land forces raised to oppose the expected invasion, and for whom she had ordered a commission for the unheard-of office of her "Lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland," survived that great event but for a few weeks, and she coldly seized and sold his property to reimburse his debts to her—a sufficient proof that the extravagance of her partiality had subsisted merely on motives which could not survive him, not to mention the speedy accession of another, and a more youthful favourite. She seems to have hesitated for a while whom to select from three candidates, each of them remarkably handsome, highly accomplished, and about thirty years younger than herself. The Earl of Essex became the unfortunate object of her choice, and succeeded his father-in-law, Leicester, not only in the full measure of her affection, but as leader of the puritan faction.

Had Elizabeth abstained from this final folly, the concluding years of her public and private life might have passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. The pride and the power of Spain had received a wound not readily to be healed; France was worn by intestine commotions, and its monarch was her firm friend, as well from prejudice as from policy; and in Scotland, which was yet in some measure distracted by the violent factions that had alternately ruled during a long regal minority, James, not less pacific in his nature than helpless from circumstances, obeyed her mandates with almost the submission of a tributary Prince. The Catholics, stunned by the blows which had fallen on the Queen of Scots, and on their great patron, Philip, required years to re-inspire them even with hope, and the Puritans had not yet dreamed of connecting rebellion with their profession of faith; the power of the Crown was almost absolute, and the great mass of the people contented. The history of the last ten years of this

Queen would have been nearly a blank but for the surprising rise and fall of Essex.

She gave him the Garter, and appointed him Master of the Horse, before he had fully attained the age of twenty-one. From the hour of his first appearance at her court she used towards him a singularity of carriage which at first rather excited secret ridicule than envy, and which seems, naturally enough, to have disgusted himself, for he fled privately from her, and became a volunteer in a foreign expedition. She summoned him home, first by an order from her Privy Council, then by an angry letter from herself, and when he unwillingly returned redoubled her fondness. He married, and she became outrageous, but was presently reconciled. She appointed him to military commands, for which he had no requisite but bravery, and forced him into the character of a statesman, for which the natural impetuosity of his generous temper utterly disqualified him. Under the influence of that foible he frequently treated her with rudeness and contempt, and she bore it patiently. In an argument however on the affairs of Ireland, the freedom of his contradictions provoked her to strike him; he fled furiously from the Court; and she drew him with difficulty from the privacy in which he had buried himself to invest him with the government of that very country. His measures there were ill-judged, and worse executed. He received a letter from Elizabeth full of bitter reproaches; anticipated at length her vengeance; and his horror of the consequent triumph of his enemies at home irritated his sensitive mind to the brink of frenzy. In this wretched disposition, he took a sudden resolution to return secretly, and throw himself at her feet. She received him with kindness, but referred the consideration of his case to her Privy Council. He was deprived of his seat in that assembly, and of his offices, and placed for a short time in a mild imprisonment. He retired into the country, and, could he have waited patiently, would probably have been restored to all his former favour; but his mind had been incurably wounded, and

he had lost all reasonable power of guiding his own conduct. He returned to London; shut himself up in his own house with a few imprudent followers; detained as hostages the Lord Keeper, and Chief Justice, who had been sent to hear his complaints; and at length sallied forth, with his little force, in hostile array against he knew not whom. He was presently overpowered, and soon after brought to trial for high treason by his Peers, who ought to have acquitted him on the score of insanity; but they found him guilty, and Elizabeth, under an impression of terror, which for the time had overpowered, but not impaired, her affection for him, consigned him to the scaffold. She survived him for two years, gradually sinking, without disease, under a regular abatement of strength and spirits, the commencement of which is proved to have been observed almost immediately after his death. To those who may be inclined to take the pains to examine carefully the numerous notices which remain, on indubitable authority, of her decay, and the expressions which fell from her during its progress, it will be evident that her life fell a sacrifice to the premature loss of that of her favourite. She died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603.

Some remark may probably be expected here on the singularities which distinguish the portrait prefixed to this outline of Elizabeth's life; but little can be said in explanation of them. In an age which delighted in the pictorial riddles of inexhaustible allegory it is perhaps not very strange that she should have adopted this mode of displaying such devices; still less that one of the vainest women in the world should have invented, or accepted, such as might attribute to herself the beneficence and splendor of the sun, the wisdom of the serpent, and the vigilance of the most acute and watchful organs of the human frame. Besides, her wardrobe at the time of her death contained more than two thousand dresses, of the fashions of all countries, of all times, and of all contrivance that busy fancy could suggest, and

in the gratification of this childish whim variety imparted the main charm. The portrait itself however, were it a mere head, would be of great curiosity, inasmuch as it represents her much younger than any other extant, and with at least as much beauty as she could at any time have possessed.

Engraved by P. Lightfoot.

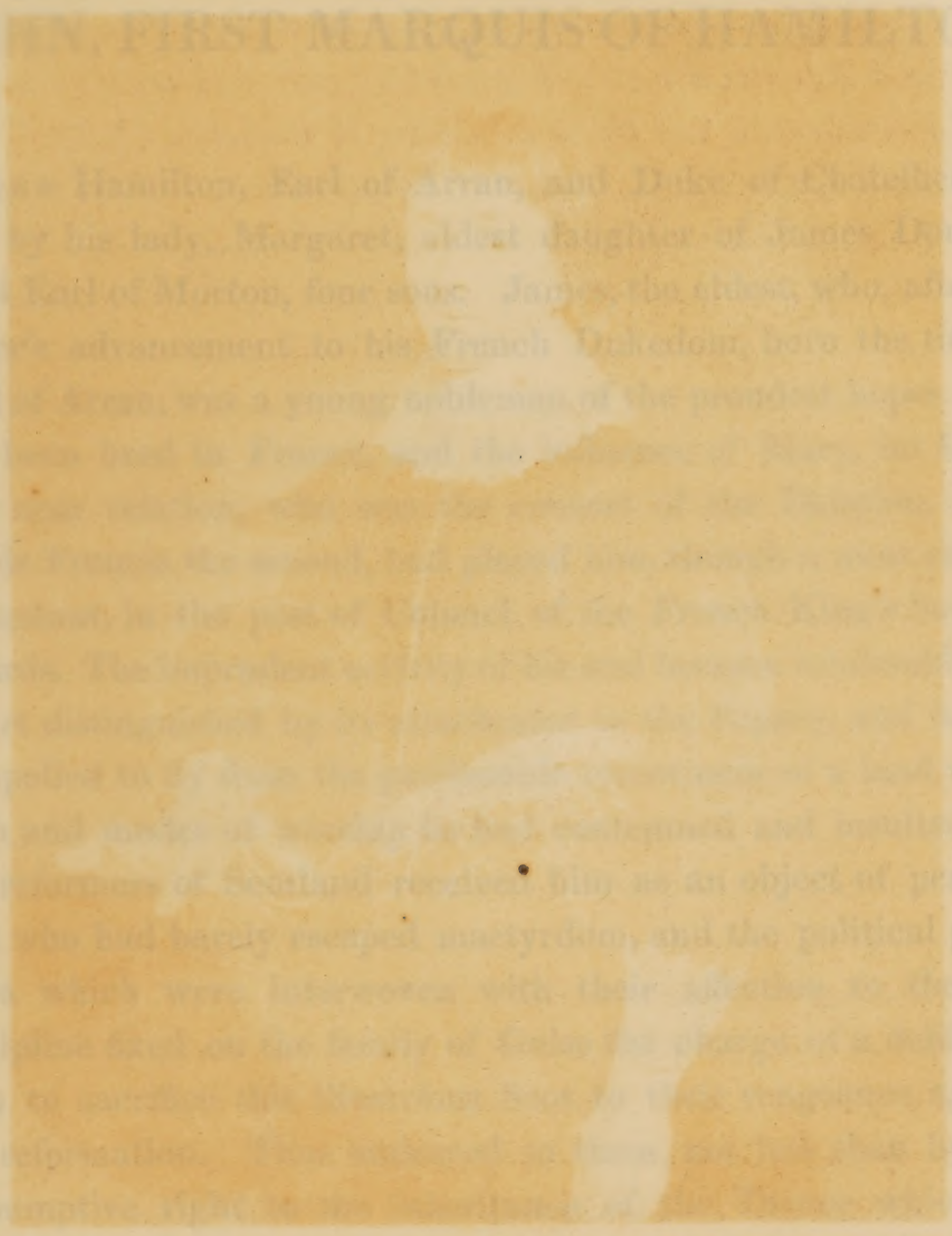
JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

OB. 1604.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London, Published July 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatelherault, had by his lady, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, four sons. James, the eldest, who, after his father's advancement to his French Dukedom, bore the title of Earl of Arran, was a young nobleman of the proudest hopes. He had been bred in France, and the influence of Mary, his Queen and near relation, who was the consort of the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the second, had placed him, though a most earnest protestant, in the post of Colonel of the French King's Scottish Guards. The imprudent activity of his zeal became intolerable to a Court distinguished by its attachment to the Papacy, and he was compelled to fly from the pardonable resentment of a land whose faith and modes of worship he had contemned and insulted, but the reformers of Scotland received him as an object of persecution who had barely escaped martyrdom, and the political prejudices which were interwoven with their affection to the new discipline fixed on the family of Guise the charge of a deliberate plan to sacrifice this illustrious Scot to their vengeance against the reformation. Thus endeared to them, not less than by that presumptive right to the inheritance of the Throne which has been more than once stated in this work, he was formally recommended by the Scottish Parliament to Elizabeth in 1560, a few months after his flight from France, as a husband, and civilly rejected. A similar proposal was made on his behalf, under the same authority, to his own Sovereign, on her return to Scotland, a widow, in the following year, but without better success. These disappointments, operating on a most impetuous and fiery nature, are said to have gradually overset a mind which seems to

have been originally ill balanced, and he became an incurable lunatic.

John, the second son, will be the subject of the present memoir; and Claud, the third, was a young nobleman of the most exalted spirit and honour, a steady Roman Catholic, and most enthusiastically devoted to the cause of his royal mistress. With David, the fourth son, this little essay has no concern; nor should I have detailed these particulars of his brothers James and Claud, were not the few facts which I have been able to obtain of the story of Lord John so frequently connected with their's that the foregoing short recital respecting them seemed indispensibly necessary.

He was born in 1532, and endowed, suitably to his high birth, while yet a child, with several royal grants of estates, particularly of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, which had been formerly held by Beatoun, during his progress to the primacy. He received his education in France, whether with a view to the ecclesiastical profession is uncertain, but undoubtedly under teachers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in strict conformity to the principles of that church, which, however, after the example of his father and elder brother, he quitted about the year 1559, and embraced the protestant faith. This change seems to have been dictated neither by party views, or schemes of aggrandisement, in himself or them. The Duke, his father, who was born to the possession of dignity which could have been increased only by his succession to the Throne, loved that retirement for which the character and measure of his talents had in truth best fitted him; Arran was known to have recanted through a zeal which savoured of bigotry; and his own invariable fidelity to the Catholic Mary, in opposition to the politics of those whose creed he had adopted, amply proved the honesty and independence of his motives, since he at once hazarded the loss of her favour by renouncing the doctrines of her church, and incurred the hatred of her opponents by cherishing her temporal interests.

He did in fact offend both. Mary, on her arrival from France to mount the Throne of Scotland, found the Duke and his family not only protestants, but supporters of the cause of the congregation, in which she had been taught to believe that she could find only enemies. Arran, even while he aspired to her hand, endeavoured to prevent her practice of the rights of her religion, and entered a public protestation against it. The whole house of Hamilton fell under her disfavour, and retired from the Court, and the subsequent opposition of the Duke to her imprudent marriage with Darnley sealed his disgrace, and forced him to fly with his family into France. They remained there till her calamities required the aid and consolation of their loyalty. On receiving the news of her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, the Lords John and Claud Hamilton flew to Scotland, and mustered her scattered friends at their father's seat at Hamilton, where they signed with them, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1567, a bond of association to liberate her. The interesting tale of her escape by other means is well known. She reached Hamilton Palace in safety, where an army of six thousand men was presently raised for her service, at the head of which she marched in person to meet a force hastily led against her by her bastard brother, the Regent Murray, which however gained a complete victory in the battle of Langside on the 13th of May, 1568. She now fled to England, never to return, and in the following July, every individual of the name of Hamilton who had fought for her on that day, including in fact nearly the whole of her army, was outlawed by a Parliament called by the Regent for that purpose.

The two succeeding years were distinguished by the violent deaths of the Earl of Murray, and his successor in the Regency, the Earl of Lenox. These assassinations, the first of which had been perpetrated by a Hamilton, were laid by the friends of the deceased noblemen to the charge of the Lords John and Claud. Their illegitimate uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been accused of the murther of Murray, and put to death without a

trial, and their names had been inserted in a general act of attainder, passed with the characteristic violence and injustice of the time, against all parties concerned in either of those crimes. At the treaty however of Perth, in 1573, which was appointed especially for the establishment of securities and amnesties, it was stipulated, that "all the processes, sentences of forfeiture, and all other prosecutions passed against George Earl of Huntly, the Lord John Hamilton, or any of their party or friends, for any crimes committed by them, or any of their party, since the fifteenth day of June, 1567, should be declared null, and of no effect." Six years had passed, during which the Duke of Chatelherault had died, and the Lord John, in consequence of the insanity of his elder brother Arran, had been declared heir to his father's estates, and was living on them in a dignified retirement, when Morton, then Regent, determined to crush at one blow the existing members of this illustrious House, and by practising on the fears and jealousies of the young King, made him a party in the iniquitous design.

It was pretended that the pardon conceded by the treaty of Perth did not extend to such as were accessary to the murther of the Regents Murray or Lenox. "Lord John and his brother," says Dr. Robertson, "were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without summoning them to trial, or examining a single witness to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. Morton, with some other noblemen, his creatures, received a commission to seize their persons and estates. On a few hour's warning a considerable body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hostile array. Happily the two brothers made their escape, though with great difficulty; but their lands were confiscated; the castles of Hamilton and Draffan besieged, and those who defended them punished. The Earl of Arran,

though incapable from his situation of committing any crime, was involved by a shameful abuse of law in the common ruin of his family; and, as if he too could have been guilty of rebellion, he was confined a close prisoner. These proceedings, so contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, were all ratified in the subsequent Parliament."

The Lord John Hamilton fled on foot, in the disguise of a sailor, into England, and from thence to Paris, where his resistance to the importunities of the Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, that he would return to the Catholic church, gave such offence at Court as obliged him to retire, with scarcely the means of subsistence, into obscurity. After some years' painful residence in France he returned privately to England, where he met his brother Claud, and several Scots of high rank, who had fled from the tyranny of James's first and perhaps worst favourite, James Stewart, on whom he had bestowed the title of Earl of Arran, so basely torn from its unhappy owner. These eminent exiles now concerted a plan not only to re-enter their country, but to drive that unworthy minion from the presence of his abused master. They contrived by secret correspondence to appoint many dependents to meet them, armed, on the borders, and having approached Edinburgh by forced marches, with ten thousand men, before the King was apprised of their design, publicly swore never to separate till he should pardon them, and dismiss Stewart. James, dreading the popularity of their design more than their numbers, threw himself into the castle of Stirling, rather with the view of gaining time to deliberate than in the hope of making a defence, and found himself suddenly invested by their troops. Incapable, and probably unwilling, to offer a military resistance, he consented to both their demands. Admitted to his presence, the Lord John Hamilton addressed him on the behalf of the party, as we are informed by a respectable Scottish historian, in these words. "Sir, we are come, in the most humble manner, to beg mercy, and your Majesty's favour." The King,

continues the same writer, answered " My Lord, I did never see you before, and must confess that of all the company you have been most wronged. You were a faithful servant to the Queen, my mother, in my minority, and, when I understood not as I do the estate of Kings, hardly used."

These curious circumstances, so highly illustrative at once of the timidity, the vanity, and the caprice, of James, occurred in October, 1585, and were immediately followed by the complete restoration in parliament of this illustrious and persecuted family. Lord John Hamilton was shortly after sworn a Privy Counsellor, and appointed Governor of Dunbarton Castle, and, when the King in 1589 sailed to Denmark, to espouse in person the Princess Anne, was complimented with the post of Lieutenant General in the south of Scotland till his master's return: but it was not till 1599 that he received the compensation probably most soothing to his outraged feelings, on the seventeenth of April in which year he was created Marquis of Hamilton. He died on the twelfth of April, 1604.

This nobleman married Margaret, only daughter of John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis, relict of Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Lord Cassilis, and had issue by her one son, James, his successor, and one daughter, Margaret, married to John, eighth Lord Maxwell.

Engraved by W.T.Fry.

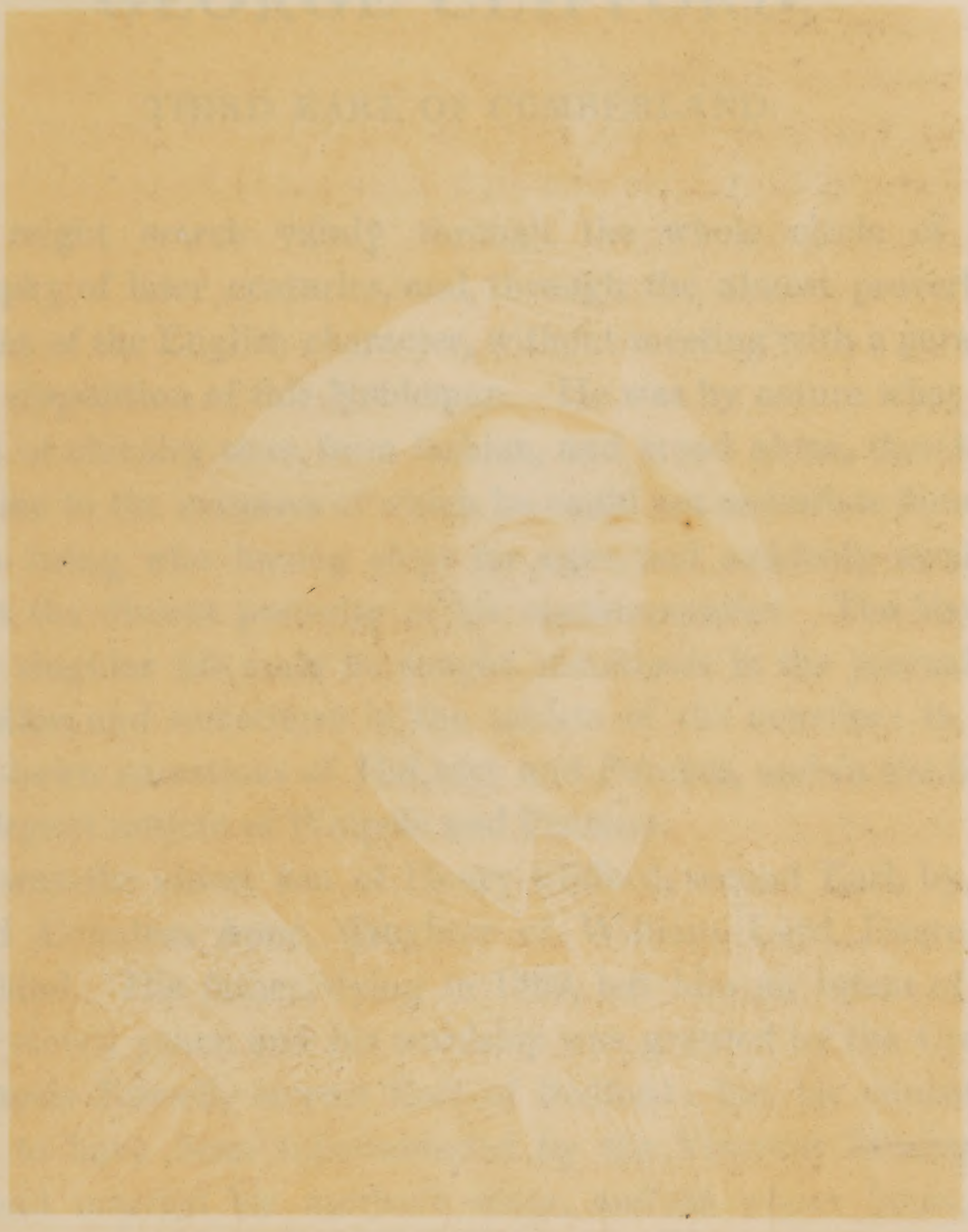
GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

OB. 1605.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

London, Published Aug^st 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



GEORGE CLIFFORD,

THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

We might search vainly through the whole circle of the biography of later centuries, and through the almost proverbial varieties of the English character, without meeting with a parallel to the disposition of this Nobleman. He was by nature what the heroes of chivalry were from fashion, and stood alone, therefore, in a time to the manners of which he could not assimilate himself, like a being who having slept for ages, had suddenly awaked amidst the distant posterity of his contemporaries. The history of his singular life must be sought sometimes in the journal of the sailor, and sometimes in the tablets of the courtier: in the rough-hewn narrations of Hakluyt and Purchas, and in the light and elegant notices of Walpole and Pennant.

He was the eldest son of Henry Clifford, second Earl, by his second Countess Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His father, dying in 1569, left him an infant of the age of eleven years, and his wardship was granted by the Crown to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford; but his education seems to have been superintended by the Viscount Montague, who had married his mother's sister, and at whose house, in Sussex, he passed some years of his youth. He went from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Peter House under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, or rather devoted his attention so earnestly to the Mathematics as to abstract it wholly from all other studies. Thus it happened that the ardent spirit of adventure, and the boundless activity which afterwards distinguished him, took first a nautical turn, acquired an increased force by assuming a peculiar direction,

and enhanced the charm of curiosity by adding to it the interest of science.

Several of the earlier years of his manhood passed however in unobserved employment, during which we hear only of him that he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots; but immediately after that deplorable proceeding, he fitted out, at his private charge, a little naval force which sailed on an expedition planned by himself, while he, with a party of volunteers of distinguished rank, embarked for Holland, with the view of relieving Sluys, then besieged by the Prince of Parma. Both enterprises were unsuccessful. His fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace, the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was destined to a voyage of discovery, but with particular instructions to lose no opportunity of annoying the Spaniards. It sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of June, 1586, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally quit England till the end of August, when it bent its course towards the South Seas, and, having reached, amidst considerable dangers and difficulties, as far as forty-four degrees of southern latitude, returned home, after thirteen months' absence, having captured a few Portuguese vessels, from which little had been gained beyond those supplies of provision of which the crews had been frequently in imminent need.

In 1588 he commanded a ship called the Elizabeth Bonaventure, in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Armada, and distinguished himself equally by his bravery and his skill in the various engagements by which that great work was accomplished, particularly in the last action, which was fought off Calais. Even during that arduous service, his mind was employed in projecting a second voyage to the South Seas, the command of which he determined to take on himself. Elizabeth now flattered him with the distinction of a royal commission, and lent him one of her own ships, named the Golden Lion, which however, as well as the rest, was fitted out solely at his charge. This expedition,

which sailed in the following October, proved even more unfortunate than the former. Baffled by contrary winds and storms, in one of which he had been obliged to cut the main mast of his own ship by the board, he returned, having scarcely been able to quit the channel during his absence. In 1589, disappointed but not dispirited, on the eighteenth of June he again left England, with a force of three small ships, equipped by himself, and headed by the Victory, from the royal navy, in which he assumed the command. He now sailed to the West Indies, and was at length in some measure successful. He took the town of Fyal, and stripped it of fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and, in the course of this cruise, sent home twenty-eight ships of various burthen, laden with goods to the value of more than twenty thousand pounds. These advantages were not cheaply purchased. In a desperate engagement between the Victory and a Brasil ship, off St. Michael's, he received several wounds, and was severely scorched; and the sufferings of his men from want of provisions, especially water, on his return to England, are perhaps unparalleled in the multifarious relations of naval misery. A particular narrative of this horrible distress, by Edward Wright, a famous mathematician, who sailed with the Earl, may be found in Hakluyt's collection, and states at the conclusion, that the men who died of thirst, exceeded in number those who had perished otherwise during the whole voyage. This calamity occurred almost within sight of the coast of Ireland, where at length, on the second of December, a change of wind permitted the survivors to land in Bantry Bay.

Hardship and danger, however, were agreeable to this singular man, and his romantic mind delighted in extremities of difficulty. He put to sea again, in May, 1591, with five ships, manned and provisioned, as usual, at his own expense, and having cruised for some months in the Mediterranean, with indifferent success returned but to prepare for a fifth expedition, which left the shores of England destined to the Azores, in the summer of the

following year, and which, on some occasion of disgust, he suddenly declined to accompany. It proved more fortunate than any of his preceding enterprises, but in the end produced a serious mortification to himself. His ships, among inferior successes, captured, on their return, one of the Spanish Caraques, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but, under the pretext of his personal absence, and other allegations, it was adjudged at home that he had no legal claim to any part of the sum. He was thrown therefore on the Queen's generosity for his requital, and in the end reluctantly accepted at her hands, as a boon, thirty-six thousand pounds. Yet, in 1593, he again sailed to the Spanish settlements, with four ships of his own, and the Golden Lion, and Bonaventure, from the navy, hoisting his flag on board the former; and, after having captured a French convoy of great value, was compelled by a severe illness to quit his command, and return to England, leaving his little fleet under the orders of Monson, afterwards the most celebrated naval officer of his time. Several rich prizes were made after his departure, and this was the most profitable of all his expeditions. The ships anchored at Plymouth on the fifteenth of May, 1594, but the Earl, barely risen from his sick bed, had left that port three weeks before their arrival, with a small squadron, fitted out at the charge of himself and some others, and bound to the Azores, from whence, having grievously annoyed the Spaniards, with little profit to himself and his companions, he returned to Portsmouth in the end of August.

His passion for nautical adventure was now at the height. Unable to employ ships of sufficient force to support his hired vessels without borrowing from the Queen, and unwilling to subject himself to the controul under which the use of such loans necessarily placed him, he determined to build a man of war of his own, and accomplished the task. It was of the burthen of nine hundred tons; was launched at Deptford; and named by Elizabeth "The Scourge of Malice;" reputed the best and largest ship

that had been built by any English subject. He entered it, in the river, on his eighth enterprise, accompanied by three inferior vessels, and had proceeded to Plymouth, when he received the Queen's command, by Raleigh, for his instant return to London, which he obeyed. His squadron, however, proceeded on its voyage to the Spanish main; made some prizes; and returned to take him on board for another cruise thither; in which his great ship was so shattered in a violent storm, which occurred when he had scarcely reached the distance of forty leagues from England, that he was obliged to retrace his course, and to wait, however impatiently, at home till the vessel should be rendered again fit for service. At length, on the sixth of March, 1598, he embarked in it, at the head of nineteen others, on his last, and most considerable expedition. His expenses in the preparations for it had been enormous, and the expectations of his sanguine mind had kept pace with them. He sailed on the sixth of March for the West Indies, where, for seven months, he incessantly harassed the Spaniards in their settlements, to the great advantage of the public interests of his country; lost two of his ships, and more than a thousand of his men; and received from the produce of his captures about a tenth part of the sum which he had disbursed for the purposes of his voyage. "His fleet," however, says Lloyd, "was bound to no other harbour but the port of honour, though touching at the port of profit in passage thereunto."

Such is the outline of his maritime story. At home, his politeness, his courage, and his magnificence, were, in the strictest sense of the word, inimitable: highly tinctured always by the singularity of his mind, they were solely and distinctly his own. He had good parts, but the warmth of his temper, and the punctilious exactness of his notions of honour, rendered him unfit for any concern in public affairs. Elizabeth, who looked narrowly and judiciously into the characters of men, seems therefore to have employed him but on one short service, for which no one could have been better qualified—the reducing to obedience his

eccentric compeer, Essex; but she knew, perhaps admired, his foibles, and certainly flattered them. In 1592 she dignified and decorated him with the Order of the Garter. At an audience, upon his return from one of his voyages, she dropped her glove, which he took up, and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, and he adorned it richly with diamonds, and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. This little characteristic circumstance is commemorated in a very scarce whole-length portrait of the Earl, engraved by Robert White. She constituted him, on the resignation of Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the Garter, disabled by age, her own peculiar champion at all tournaments. Sir William Segar has preserved, in his treatise "of Honour Military and Civil," an exact account of the pomp and parade of his admission into that romantic office, for the insertion of a short extract from which perhaps no apology may be necessary.

"On the seventeenth day of November, anno 1590, this honourable gentleman" (Sir Henry Lea), "together with the Earl of Cumberland having first performed their service in armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse at the foot of the staires, under her gallery window, in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the Vicount Turyn, ambassador of France, many ladies, and the chiefest nobilitie. Her Majestie, beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret as every one thereat greatly marvailed. And, hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a pavilion, made of white taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like unto the sacred temple of the virgins vestall. This temple seemed to consist upon pillars of pourferry, arched like unto a church: within it were many lamps burning: also on the one side there stood an altar, covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles, burning in rich candlesticks: upon the altar also were laid certain princely presents, which, after, by

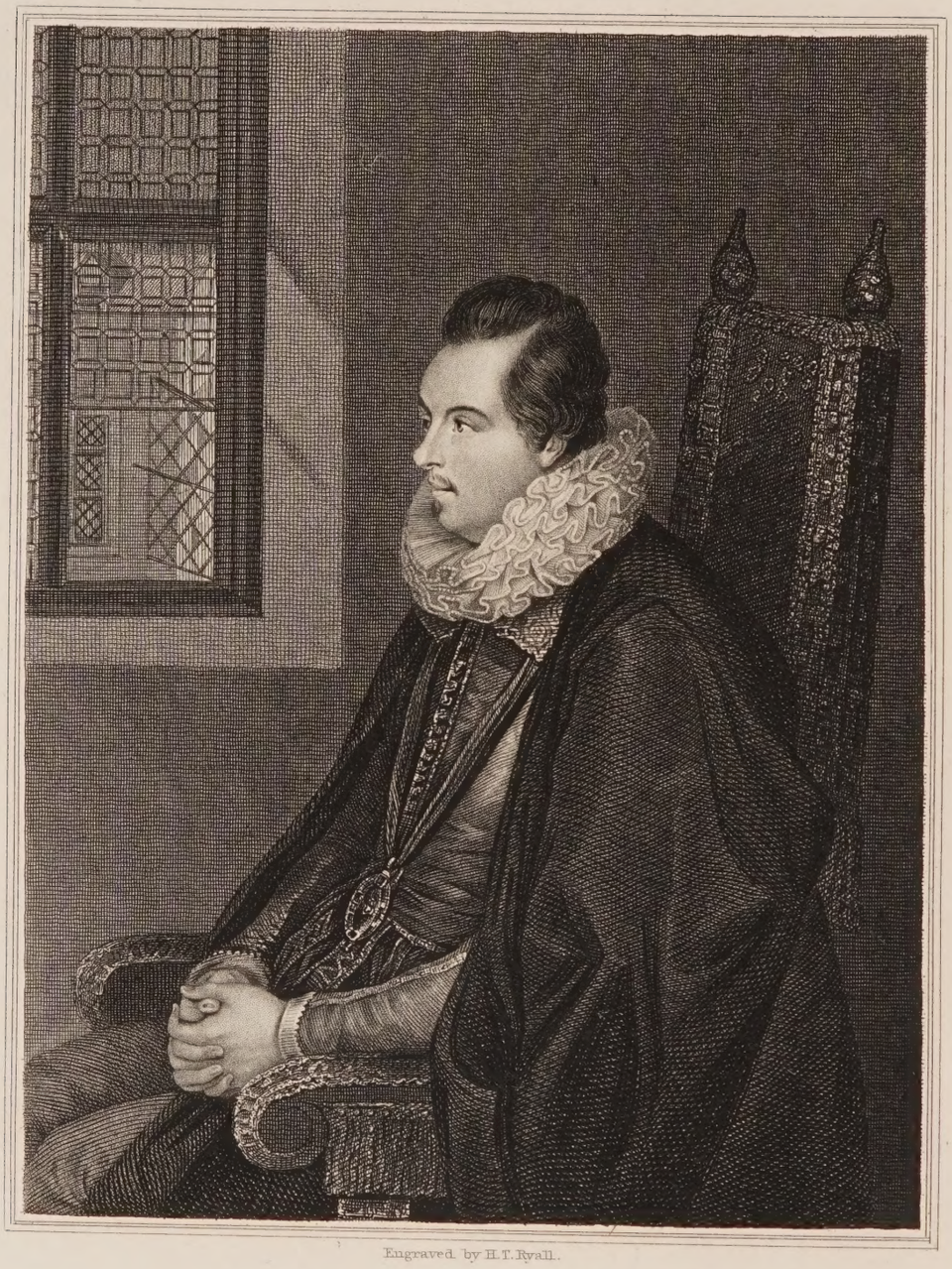
three virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the door of this temple stood a crowned pillar, embraced by an eglantine tree, whereon was hanged a table, and therein written, with letters of gold, this prayer following. Elizæ, &c. Piæ, potenti, fœlicissimæ Virgini; fidei, pacis, nobilitatis, Vindici; cui Deus, astra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos, animam ad pedes positurus tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam æternam, æternum, precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra Columnas Herculis Columna moveatur tua. Corona superet Coronas omnes, ut quam Cœlum fœlicissimè nascenti Coronam dedit, beatissima moriens reportes Cœlo. Summe, Sancte, Æterne, audi, exaudi, Deus."

Having related other circumstances, not to the present purpose, the narrative concludes, "These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majestie's owne hands, and he himself disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majestie's crowned pillar; and, kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majesty gratiously accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the Earle, and mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke velvet, pointed under the arme, and covered his head, in liew of an helmet, with a buttoned cap of the countrey fashion."

The Earl's expenses in discharging the duties, if they may be so called, of this fantastic office; in horse-racing, which had then lately become fashionable; and in feasts which rivalled the splendor of royalty; added to the aggregate loss on the whole of his maritime career, greatly impaired his estate. He was, to say the least, careless of his family; lived on ill terms with his Countess, Margaret, third daughter of his guardian, Francis Earl of Bedford, a woman of extraordinary merit, but perhaps too high spirited for such a husband; and neglected the interests, as well as the education, of his only surviving child. Of that child, little

less remarkable than her father, Anne, wife first to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and secondly to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some account, together with her portrait, will presently appear in this work.

George, Earl of Cumberland, died at the Savoy, in London, on the thirtieth of October, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Yorkshire, where was the chief seat of his family, on the thirtieth, says Dugdale, of the following March.



Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

CHARLES BLOUNT, BARON MONTJOY, & EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1606.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JUAN PANTOXA, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London, Published July 1,1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

CHARLES BLOUNT,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

This accomplished person, an ornament equally to the characters of soldier, statesman, scholar, and courtier, was the second of the two sons of James, fifth Lord Montjoy, by Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of St. Oswald, in the county of York. He was born in the year 1563, and compleated a fine education at Oxford, but in what college the industrious biographer of that university has omitted to inform us. The patrimony of his superb House had been long gradually decaying. His grandfather had burthened it with heavy debts in supporting an unusual magnificence in the romantic splendors of the Court of Henry the eighth; his father, in the view of repairing the loss, increased it tenfold by endless endeavours to discover the philosopher's stone; and his elder brother nearly annihilated the remnant by various and less creditable prodigality. For himself, without money, and without friends, no choice was left between absolute penury and a profession more or less laborious, and he seems to have been destined accordingly to the study and practice of the law. Of his anxiety to repair the fallen fortunes of his family, as well of his ready wit, we have a striking instance, from the best authority—His parents wishing, in his childhood, to have a portrait of him, he desired that he might be painted with a trowel in his hand, and this inscription; "Ad reædificandam antiquam Domum."

Sir Robert Naunton has given us a sketch of his early manhood with a freshness and vivacity which could not but be injured by alteration. "As he came from Oxford," says Naunton, "he took the Inner Temple in his way to the Court, whither he no sooner

came but, without asking, he had a pretty strange kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty years of age; of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner, whither he came, to see the fashion of the Court. The Queen had soon found him out, and, with a kind of affected frown, asked the lady carver what he was. She answered she knew him not; insomuch as an enquiry was made from one to another who he might be, till at length it was told the Queen he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not) stirred the blood of this young gentleman insomuch as his colour came and went, which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious words, and new looks; and so, diverting her speech to the lords and ladies, she said that she no sooner observed him but that she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions, of pity towards his house; and then, again demanding his name, she said 'fail you not to come to the Court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good.' And this was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace; where it falls into consideration that, though he wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions, and being a good piece of a scholar, yet were they accompanied with the retractives of bashfulness, and a natural modesty, which, as the tone of his House, and the ebb of his fortune, then stood, might have hindered his progression, had they not been reinforced by the infusion of sovereign favour, and the Queen's gracious invitation. And, that it may appear how low he was, and how much that heretic necessity will work in the dejection of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance that his exhibition was very scant until his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the Court, and then it was no more than a thousand

marks per annum, wherewith he lived plentifully, in a fine way and garb, and without any great sustentation, during all her time; and as there was in his nature a kind of backwardness, which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the Court, so there was in him an inclination to arms, with a humour of travelling and gadding abroad, which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the Queen herself laid in her commands, he would, out of his natural propension, have marred his own market."

It seems however to have been some time before he gratified this disposition, for in 1585 he was elected a burgess for St. Ives, in Cornwall, and in the Parliament which met in the following year was chosen for Berealston, in Devon, which borough he again represented some years after. He was also knighted in 1586, and we first hear of him with certainty in a warlike character as one of the crowd of volunteers of quality who hired vessels to join the fleet sent to meet the Spanish Armada. Yet there is no doubt that about this time he had a small command in the Low Countries, for we are again told by Naunton that "he would press the Queen with the pretences of visiting his company there so often that at length he had a flat denial;" but even this he disregarded, and embarked privately with Sir John Norris, whom he entirely loved, and used to call his father, in the furious expedition made by that great officer to the coast of Bretagne in 1591. "At last," says Naunton, "the Queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the Court, and her own presence."

In 1594 he was appointed Governor of Portsmouth, nor was it till this year, contrary to Naunton's report, that he succeeded to the Barony of Montjoy, on the death of William, his elder brother. Highly distinguished now by a partiality which Elizabeth could not conceal, he had yet long to wait for those solid proofs of her favour which his qualifications evidently merited. Essex seems to have retarded his preferment, under a general impres-

sion of jealousy, perhaps heightened by a somewhat vindictive recollection of a particular personal offence. Montjoy, shortly before he became possessed of that title, had so delighted Elizabeth by his gallantry and dexterity in a tilt at which she was present that she sent him, as a mark of her approbation, a chess-queen of gold, richly enamelled, with which, tied to his arm with a crimson riband, he appeared the next day at Court. Essex, observing it as he passed through the privy chamber, enquired of his friend, Sir Fulke Greville, what it meant? and, on being informed, exclaimed, "Now I perceive that every fool must have a favour," which insulting speech having reached Blount's ears, he challenged the Earl, and they met in Marybone Park, where Essex received a wound in the thigh, and was disarmed. Yet it was to this favourite, whom Elizabeth well knew to be too generous to cherish illiberal resentments, that she joined Montjoy in his first conspicuous public services—she appointed him Lieutenant General of the land forces in Essex's expedition to the Azores in 1597, and, on the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, towards the close of the same year, gave him a similar commission to serve under the Earl in that island, adding to it the dignity of the Garter.

The office of Lord Deputy there becoming vacant in the succeeding year, Elizabeth and the most of her Council were strongly inclined to place Montjoy in it, but were opposed by Essex, who secretly coveted it for himself. Camden tells us that he objected against his rival his small experience in military affairs; the slenderness of his estate and interest; and, to use Camden's words, that "he minded books too much to attend to the government." Essex, though his favour was then in the wane, prevailed, and on the final extinction of it, produced a few months after by the extravagance of his own conduct, was succeeded by Montjoy. "So confident," says Naunton, "was the Queen in her own princely judgement and opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this worthy gentle-

man, and none other, to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end; for it was a prophetical speech of her own that it would be his fortune and his honour to cut the thread of that fatal rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave; where she was not deceived, for he achieved it, but with much pains and carefulness, and many jealousies of the Court and time." Montjoy arrived in Ireland on the fourteenth of February, 1600, N. S. and, without an hour's delay, commenced the practice of a system of warfare wholly new to his half civilized, however brave, adversaries, and which he had previously formed on a most judicious consideration of the character and habits of the people, and of the peculiar features of those parts of the island which were the main seats of the war. His plans, the produce of his closet, were executed in the field with all the judgement, bravery, activity, and precision, an union of which is esteemed to constitute the perfection of military command. The following letter, written soon after his arrival, affords curious proof of his vivacity, his high spirit, and the familiarity which it may be presumed it was his habit to use in his private intercourse with his haughty Sovereign. The original is in the Cotton Collection—

May itt please youre Ma^{tye}

In this greate game, wheare on equall hazarde you venture gollde against led, though you winn more, yett your losses willbe more famus, and the best reconyngs wee can make you will seem shorte till you vouchsafe to looke uppon the whole somme. If since my comminge over I should give you an accounte unto this daye, I will presume to speake itt withe assurance, your Ma^{tie} hathe woon muche more than you have lost, and you have lost nothing thatt the prudence of your minister coulde prevente. Your army hathe recovered harte and reputacyon, and the estate, hope beyond their owne expectation, w^{ch} I esteem so great a degree unto good success as thatt by compassinge so much I have already stepped over the greatest barr to doo you servis. The

Earle of Ormond's parley I vowe, on my aleageance to God and you, was w^th^out my privitye, and so muche have I distasted the lyke in others thatt, before this accidente, I have forbidden itt to private captaynes, and no rebell hathe ever yet spoken to myselfe but upon his knees; but, iff I may presume to yeeld unto your Ma^tie^ a just excuse for the President of Moonster, as itt was not in his power to hinder the Earle's parley, so his intention to be present was to do you servis by discoveringe in his manner many jelozeys conceaved uppon good grownds, and off great consequence to your Ma^tie^; neither was he able to give him any farther answ^r^. when the Earle's owne men had forsaken him. Your Ma^tie^, in youre heavenly nature, may be moved with this great example humanæ fragilitatis, but I hope you shall not heere off any dangerus consequence thereoff to your servis. I feare nott his countrye, though itt wear all oute, for neither the place nor people have any great strengthe; but my mynde doth labor w^th^ the estate off no province more then off Conaught: but God prosper youre armye this sum˜er, and theas plantations, nowe, and then, I hope itt, will be in your power, either to bowe or to breake the crooked humors of theas people; and God make me able to do your deere and royal Ma^tie^ the servis I desyre.

2 April, 1600. Your Ma^tie's^ truest servant,

E. Mountjoye."

To her sacred Majesté.

A detail of the occurrences of this war, after it fell under the direction of Montjoy, is properly matter for the historian; suffice it therefore to say that, after two campaigns of uninterrupted success, he terminated it by a most decisive victory, in the neighbourhood of Kinsale, over the largest army ever brought into the field by the insurgents, aided too by between six and seven thousand Spanish troops. O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the great chieftain of the rebellion, soon after surrendered on certain conditions of a distant pardon, one of which, it is curious to observe, was that he

should present himself to the Lord Deputy on his knees. Montjoy led him afterwards a prisoner to London, but it was to grace the triumph of a new Sovereign, for Elizabeth, in consonance with her prediction, was on her death-bed when Tyrone made his formal submission in Ireland.

James's first care on his arrival in England was to reward the eminent services of Montjoy. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1603, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; within a few days sworn of the Privy Council; and, on the twenty-first of July, created Earl of Devonshire. The appointments of Master of the Ordnance, and Warden of the New Forest, were soon after conferred on him; and to these were added grants of the estate of Kingston Hall, in Dorsetshire; of the county of Lecal, together with a reversion of other valuable lands in Ireland; and of an ample pension from the Crown, to him and his heirs for ever. He came to England not long after the King's accession, for we are told that he was one of the Peers present at the arraignment of Raleigh in the following November; nor does he appear after that period to have resided much in his government, which indeed his late eminent services had rendered in great measure a sinecure. In 1604 he was one of the five commissioners to treat in London of a peace between England and Spain; and here it may be proper to account for some singularity in the appearance of the portrait prefixed to this memoir by observing that the very curious picture from which it is taken represents those five ministers, in conference with six Spanish noblemen, all seated on armed chairs, and ranged in exact order of rank at the opposite sides of a long table. At the foot of the picture appear the names of the eleven negotiators, with marks of reference to their several portraits, which, if we may judge from the success which the artist has displayed in depicting those heads among them which are familiar to us, may be presumed to exhibit the most lively resemblances. The inscription which refers to the portrait of the Earl is "Carlos, C^{de} de Denshier, Vi˜rey de Irlanda."

Apparently endowed now with all the choicest gifts of good fortune, this accomplished man pined secretly under the oppression of a domestic misery which a high sense of honour, and a tone of mind acutely sensitive, combined to render intolerable. A mutual affection, contracted in early life and in the days of his necessity, with Penelope, eldest daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had gradually ripened into the most ardent love, and was privately sealed by an interchange of marriage vows. It is reasonable to suppose that a discovery produced the contest, too common in such cases, between what the world, with equal injustice, calls youthful folly and parental prudence. The lady was forced into a marriage with the wealthy Robert, Lord Rich, and a guilty connection between the lovers followed, which remained for some years unobserved. Lady Rich at length abandoned her husband, taking with her five children, whom she declared to be the issue of the Earl; who, on his part, amidst the fearful conflict of various and even contrary feelings, submitted to the impulse of those which till now had been chief ornaments of his character, and sullied the fair passions of love and pity by rendering them the instruments of insult to society, and of aggravation of the censure which fell on himself. He received her with what mournful cordiality may easily be supposed; and, on her divorce from Lord Rich, which of course immediately followed, was married to her at Wansted, in Essex, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1605. Laud, who was then a young man, and the Earl's domestic chaplain, performed the nuptial ceremony, and a loud outcry was instantly raised against him by the puritans, and by his numerous polemical adversaries. The King also felt, or affected, the highest indignation, and Laud was for a time thought to have blasted all his views of preferment, by having thus sanctioned a connection so scandalous, but a severer fate, as well as the most exalted dignities, were in reserve for him.

The Earl survived this wretched union but for a very few

months, and it has been even said that he sunk under the weight of the bitter public reflections which it had excited. He died on the third of April, 1606, and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Fynes Morrison, who had been his secretary in Ireland, tells us, in his "Travels," a book not much known, to which I am obliged for some of the foregoing particulars, that "grief of unsuccessful love brought him to his last end;" but Mr. Chamberlaine, in a letter to Secretary Winwood, of the fifth of April, 1606, seasoning his news with a severity scarcely reasonable, says—"the Earl of Devonshire left this life on Thursday night last, soon and early for his years, but late enough for himself, and happy had he been if he had gone two or three years since, before the world was weary of him, or that he had left that scandal behind him. He was not long sick past eight or ten days, and died of a burning fever, and putrefaction of his lungs, a defect he never complained of. He hath left his lady, (for so she is now generally held to be,) fifteen hundred pounds a year, and most of his moveables; and of five children that she fathered upon him at the parting from her former husband, I do not hear that he provided for more than three; leaving to the eldest son, I hear, between three and four thousand pounds a year; and to a daughter six thousand pounds in money."

Whatever might have been the extent of the public resentment of the Earl's private conduct in this unhappy instance, the royal family seem to have not long partaken in it, for the "eldest son," mentioned by Chamberlaine, who was called Montjoy Blount, was created by James, Baron Montjoy, of Montjoy Fort, in Ireland; and was advanced by Charles the first to the English dignity of Earl of Newport, in the Isle of Wight; titles which, having passed successively through his three sons, became extinct in Henry Blount, the youngest, in 1681.

In Dr. Birch's collection, in the British Museum, is a manuscript, of twenty-eight closely penned pages, with the title of "*A*

Discourse of Matrimony, written by the Earle of Devonshire, in defence of his marriage with the Lady Riche." It is composed in the best style of the time; abounds with ingenious argument; and quotes, in addition to numberless passages in Scripture, perhaps every author who ever wrote, either professedly or incidentally, on the subjects of marriage and divorce. I recollect to have formerly met, I know not where, with some reference to it, but whether it has ever been printed is at least doubtful.

Engraved by Thos Wright.

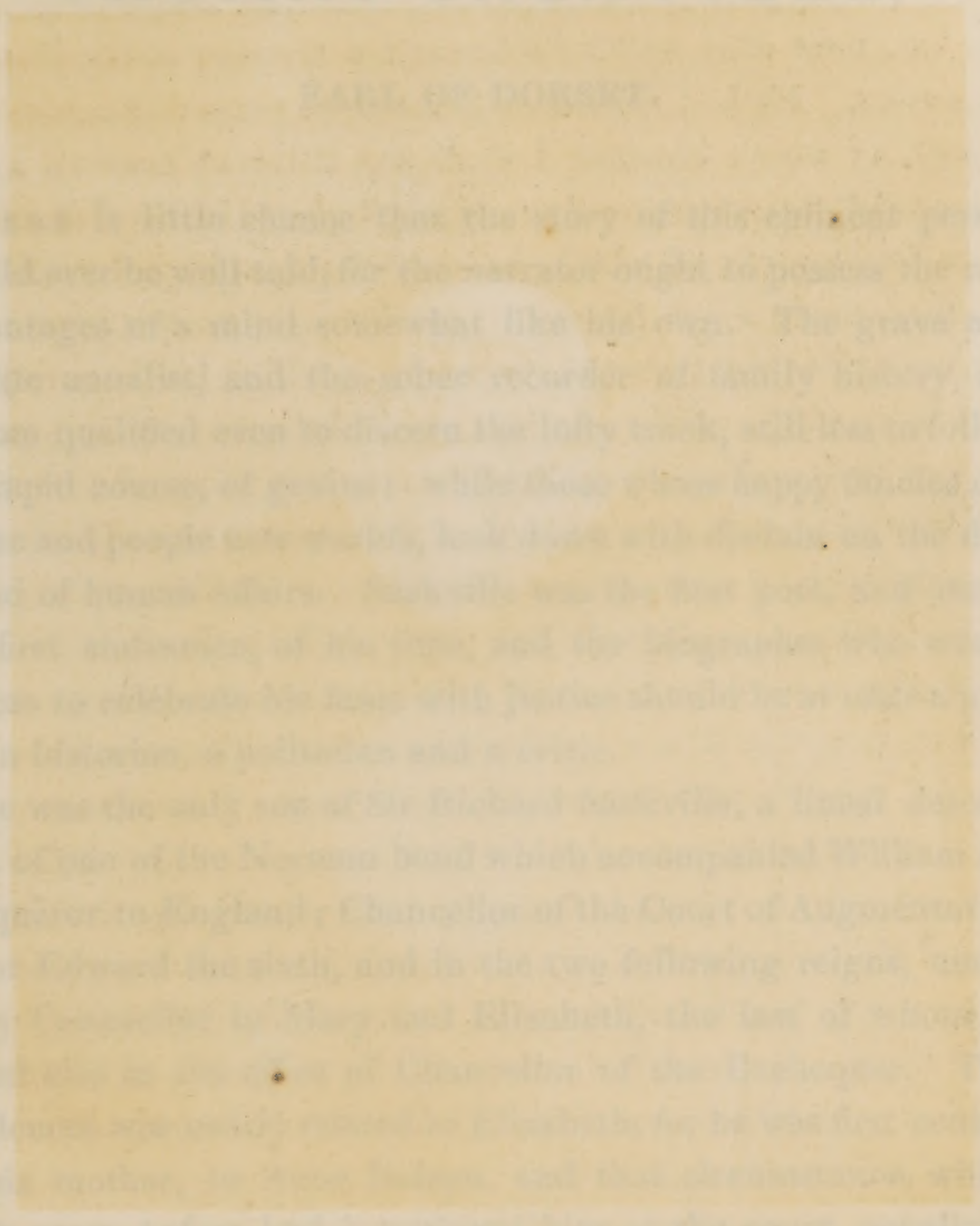
THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF DORSET.

OB. 1608.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DORSET.

London, Published Oct^r 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL OF DORSET.

THERE is little chance that the story of this eminent person should ever be well told, for the narrator ought to possess the rare advantages of a mind somewhat like his own. The grave and minute annalist, and the sober recorder of family history, are seldom qualified even to discern the lofty track, still less to follow the rapid course, of genius; while those whose happy fancies can create and people new worlds, look down with disdain on the dull round of human affairs. Sackville was the first poet, and one of the first statesmen, of his time, and the biographer who would profess to celebrate his fame with justice should be at once a poet and a historian, a politician and a critic.

He was the only son of Sir Richard Sackville, a lineal descendant of one of the Norman band which accompanied William the Conqueror to England; Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation under Edward the sixth, and in the two following reigns, and a Privy Counsellor to Mary and Elizabeth, the last of whom he served also in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman was nearly related to Elizabeth, for he was first cousin, by his mother, to Anne Boleyn, and that circumstance, which many years before had introduced him at the court, peculiarly recommended him to the favour of her daughter. His first wife was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges, a wealthy Alderman of London, and Thomas Sackville, the subject of this memoir, was the sole issue of their marriage. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in the parish of Withiam, in Sussex, where his family had long been seated, and was educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, in the latter of which Universities he took the degree of Master of Arts. He removed from thence to the Inner Temple,

where, according to the custom of young men of rank in his time, he studied the law, with no view of making it his profession, but as a necessary part of a gentleman's breeding, and was called to the bar, soon after which he became a member of the House of Commons. He had been already for some years distinguished as a poet, of which however I shall say little at present, and is supposed to have composed many small pieces in English, as well as in Latin verse, of which, being probably mingled with those of others, or in some instances, totally lost, we are now nearly ignorant. We know that those poems on which his fame so justly rests were written before he had reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, and we know not that he wrote any thing afterwards.

About that period he married, and soon after travelled through France and Italy, from whence he returned in 1566, on receiving at Rome the news of his father's death, and, on the eighth of June in that year, he was advanced by Elizabeth to the peerage, by the title of Lord Buckhurst. His father, in addition to a fine inheritance, was so well known to have amassed immense wealth that it was usual, by a vulgar anagram, to call him " Fill Sack." The son, who had been before very profuse, which probably occasioned his going abroad at an unusual time of life, became now extravagant beyond all bounds, and soon fell into considerable difficulties. He is said to have been reclaimed by Elizabeth's wholesome advice; but Fuller tells us, and there is nothing improbable in the tale, that " happening to call on an Alderman of London, who had gained great pennyworths by former purchases of him, he was made to wait so long, that his generous humour, being sensible of the incivility of such attendance, resolved to be no more beholden to wealthy pride, and presently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his estate." Certain it is, whatever might have been the cause, that he suddenly changed his imprudence for a magnificent economy, which never after forsook him. The Queen, who either really loved her kindred, or highly countenanced them from a proud respect to herself, took him into

considerable personal favour, though she conferred on him no permanent employment, either in her government or household, for many years. She sent him on an embassy to Paris in 1570, to congratulate Charles the ninth on his nuptials, and to treat of the marriage then proposed between herself and the Duke of Anjou, brother to that Prince, appointed him one of the Commissioners for the trial, and committed to him the miserable office of superintending the execution, of Mary Queen of Scots; and in 1587 intrusted to him, in the character of her Ambassador extraordinary to the United States, the difficult duty of hearing and composing their complaints against the Earl of Leicester, his honesty in the performance of which drew on him the vengeance of that favourite, through whose influence the Queen was induced to recall him, and to place him in confinement in his own house, where he remained a prisoner for nine or ten months, during which he never saw his wife, or children.

If Elizabeth by any act of imprudence ever placed herself in the power of another, Leicester was the man. Haughty, furious, and unfeeling as she was, her submission to his will, even when opposite to her own, was invariable; and her conduct at this time towards Lord Buckhurst affords a curious proof of it. Leicester died in September, 1588: Sackville was immediately released: in the April following he was named, without his knowledge, a Knight of the Garter; and in the course of that and the succeeding year, was employed in several services which required the strictest fidelity, among which the affairs of the United Provinces were peculiarly committed to his charge. In 1591 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in opposition to the favoured Essex, and that through the especial interference of the Queen herself, who some months after honoured him with a visit there. In 1598 he was selected to treat of a peace with Spain, and on the fifteenth of May in that year was raised to the office of High Treasurer, on the death of Burghley. On the occasion of Essex's wild insurrection he distinguished

himself as much by his humanity as his wisdom; warned the unhappy Earl in time, with the kindness of a private friend, of the danger of his courses; and presided as Lord High Steward on his trial, with the strictest impartiality. The office of Earl Marshal becoming vacant by Essex's death, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for performing the duties of it. Elizabeth died soon after.

His patent for the office of Lord Treasurer was renewed by James, even before that Prince quitted Scotland; the choice of the principal servants of the Crown was in a great measure intrusted to him; and on the thirteenth of the March following the King's accession he was created Earl of Dorset. The faculties of his high office soon became strangely changed. In the late reign the main occupation of the chief Minister of finance was to dispose properly of the means which had arisen from natural and simple resources, well chosen, and well husbanded; in this to devise extraordinary methods to replenish a treasury exhausted by the most absurd profusion. The circumstances of Dorset's private life somewhat qualified him for acting in either situation with more ease than most men, but that he should have possessed in each the unvaried good opinion not only of his Sovereigns, but of his compeers, and of the people, can be ascribed only to a rare perfection both of head and heart. The two following letters, which were placed a few years since by me in a Life of Sir Julius Cæsar, who acted under him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, may be considered as great curiosities, for the lively light which they throw on a part of the character of Sackville's mind, independently of the striking proof afforded by them of the financial distress of that reign; nor are they less estimable as specimens of his epistolary composition, especially since Naunton has informed us that "his secretaries did little for him by the way of inditement, wherein they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and style." These letters were written to Sir Julius by the Earl's own hand.

"I have just sined your 2 orders, and do gretely thank you for delivering my most humble thankes to his Ma^tie^. As for clamors for monies when ther is no meanes to pay, that is news to you, but not to me. I know not, nor no man erthly knows, any other remedy but to aunswer them that they must tary til it come in. As for any ordinaries coming in, Sir Vincent Skinner can alwaies tell you far better than I, for he was alwaies my inforrmer; and as for extraordinaries, I know of none but this of the tinne. That can go neither forward nor backwards by my presens. I have left full ordre with M^r^ Atturney, and Sir Rich. Smith, to expedite the same; but the delivery of the tinne at London, and in Cornwale, in my opinion will not be done thies 20 daies yet. As to my coming to London, I know not a halfpeny of help that I can give you therby, if I were fit, or able; and I thank humbly his Ma^tie^ he hath geven me credit to seke to recover my helth, w^ch^ I desier to do for his serves; but God doth know that I have yet found a small beginning of recovery, and do leave all to God's mercies, knowing, that only time, aier, and free from business, must help this rooted cold and cough of mine, so fast fixed in me.

So I rest, ever your most assured friend,

HORSLEY, T. DORSET."
31 May, 1607.

He concludes, a few days after, in the following terms a very long letter on the preemption of tin by the Crown; an unpopular, but not new project, in which James's ministers were then busily employed, and which is alluded to in the preceding. The letter has no date, but is indorsed by Sir Julius Cæsar, "9 Junii, 1607."

"Now, Mr. Chauncellor, touching your lamentacõn of the clamors and sutes that are daily made to you for money, and how grevous it is unto you, and therefore desier my help and advise what you shold do, I can say but this; that true fortitude is never daunted, and truth ought never to be either afraid or ashamed.

You may truly aunswer them that the king's dets, his subsidies, his rents, his revenues, notwithstanding all the meanes for levieng of them that possibly may be devised, ar not paid, but pecemele come in, with grete difficulty; and how can the king's ma^{tie} pay that w^{ch} he owes, when that which is owing to him is unpaied? Besides his ma^{tie} hath brought wth him an increse of a most comfortable charge; as of a quene, the king's wief; a prince; and other his most royall progeny. Thes ar comfortable charges, and all good subjects must help willinglie to beare the burden therof.—That the King of Spaine himself, that hath so many Indian gold and silver mines to help him, doth yet leave his dets many times unpaied, upon accidents that happen.—That the king's ma^{tie}, and his counsell, do not neglect to devise all possible meanes and waies to bring in monies and do not dout, within convenient time, though sodenly it cannot be doon, to procure good helpes towards satisfaction of the dettes.—That alredy he hath assined a good part of his subsidy to discharge the same.—That no labours shall be spared to effect the same: in the meane while they must have paciens, and be content.—That as the king's revenues do come in, so they shall have part and part among them; for one must not have all, and the rest nothing. These, and such like, are true aunswers, and ought, and must satisfie, and these you must not be afraid to geve; and such as will not be satisfied with thes ar men without dutie or reson; therefore no great matter though they be unsatisfyed.

" Now, Mr. Chauncellor, if 3 weekes be so grevous unto you, what will you think of my greif that in this kind have indured the greif of 3 yeres? But let this be your last and chiefest comfort—that we have a most roiall, rare, and most gracious king, for whom we can never speke to much, nor do sufficient, though we expend our lieves, lands, and goods, and all that we have, in this servis. I have told you that I will bend all my indevours to bring in monies, which also must have it's due time for sodenly you may not expect it: p˜fering you therefore that

w^{ch} now ap˜taineth to you, and, by the grace of God, you shall se that I will so laboriously, and I hope so effectually, procede in the other, as you shall have comfort, and I my harty contentation, that I may do some acceptable servis to so gracious a soverein.

Yo˜r most assured frend,

T. Dorset."

Such was his vivacity in the seventy-second year of his age, and when labouring under the greatest infirmity of body, which is somewhat singularly confirmed by a passage in his most remarkable will, referring to the very date of the last of these letters. After having ordained, at great length, and with the utmost preciseness of diction that caution could suggest, that four certain jewels should be preserved for ever in his family, as heir looms, he proceeds to state his motives for so highly valuing them; and, having exactly described the first which he names, adds—" and, to the intent that they (his heirs male) may knowe howe just and great cause both they and I have to hould the sayed rynge with twentie diamonds in so highe esteeme, yt is most requisite that I do here set downe the whole course and circumstance howe, and from whome the same rynge did come to my possession, which was this. In the beginning of the monethe of June, one thousand sixe hundred and seaven, this rynge thus sett with twenty diamondes, as ys aforesaid, was sent unto me from my most gracious sovereigne King James, by that honorable personage the Lord Haye, one of the gentlemen of his highness' bedchamber, the courte then being at Whitehall, in London, and I at that time remayning at Horseley House, in Surrey, twentie miles from London, where I laye in such extremitie of sickness as yt was a common and a constant reporte all over London that I was dead, and the same confidentlie affirmed unto the kinge's highnes himself: upon which occasion yt pleased his most excellent majestie, in token of his gracious goodness and great favoure towards me, to send the saied Lord Haye with the ringe, and

this royall message unto me, namelie—that his highness wished a speedie and a perfect recovery of my healthe, with all happie and good successe unto me, and that I might live as long as the dyamonds of that rynge (which therewithall he delivered unto me) did endure; and, in token thereof, required me to weare yt, and keep it for his sake. This most gracious and comfortable message restored a new life unto me, as coming from so renowned and benigne a sovereigne unto a servaunte so farre unworthie of of so great a favour," &c.

He recovered his health sufficiently to return to London, and to attend to the more important concerns of his office, and in August made the will of which I have spoken. He survived, however, till the nineteenth of the following April, when he expired in an instant, as he sat at the council table, surrounded by the chief officers of the state, and in the presence of the king. "On opening his head," says Sir Richard Baker, "they found in it certain little bags of water, which, falling upon his brain, caused his death;" but his constitution had been completely broken by his previous illness, though his mind retained it's pristine vigour to his last moment. Perhaps it may not be too much to affirm of him that he possessed, together with the brightest genius, and an understanding abundantly solid and useful, the highest honour, the strictest integrity, and the most undoubted loyalty, that could be found among the great public men of his time.

Sackville's poetical talents have always been regarded by a few in whom a just feeling has been united to a just judgment, with a degree of respect amounting nearly to reverence: to others they are almost wholly unknown. That fashion, however, if I may presume to use so light a term, which has of late so widely diffused itself, of collecting the scattered and forgotten English poesy of former ages may probably place him in his proper rank in general reputation. Those whom nature has qualified to appreciate truly his genius will express their wonder at the neglect

which it has experienced; and ignorant affectation will spread his fame, by repeating the lessons it will catch by rote from legitimate taste. Yet Sackville will not delight the multitude of the present time. His very perfections will prevent it. The truth and simplicity of his designs; his stern and solemn morality, the awful grandeur of his imagery; will have no charms for those who can hang in rapture over the bald and tedious ballad monotonies, and the fierce and mysterious rhapsodies, from which the poets of our day derive the laurel. But the scope of these sketches, especially as I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting a specimen of his muse, forbids any lengthened discussion of her merits. Suffice it therefore to say, that Lord Orford thought it probable that "to the boldness of Buckhurst's scenes we might owe Shakespeare;" and that Wharton has given him the credit of teaching to Spenser the method of designing allegorical personages. His works were the tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex, called in a later edition "Gorboduc;" the "Induction," (or poetical preface) to the series of legendary tales, by several hands, of unfortunate princes, and other great men, intituled "The Mirror for Magistrates;" together with the "Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham," which are the chief ornaments to that collection. Gorboduc, in which it has been improbably said that he was assisted by Thomas Norton, a contemporary poet of small distinction, amidst several of the imperfections of a bold experiment, has the merits of being the first attempt made in this country to chase from the stage the devout mummeries of its infancy, and of having introduced into dramatic composition a dignity and perspicuity of style, and a strength of reflection, to which it had before been wholly unaccustomed. His greater work shall speak for itself, in an extract from the Induction, which some may think too long, and which others will wish had been yet further extended.—The poet is led by sorrow, exquisitely personified, to the utmost extent of the infernal regions, where the mighty unfortunates are to pass him in review, and to recount their

respective histories. On his way he encounters the following griesly inmates of the vast prison.

And first, within the porch and jawes of hell,
Sate deep Remorse of conscience, all besprent
With teares; and to herself oft would she tell
Her wretchednesse; and, cursing, never stent
To sob and sigh; but ever thus lament,
With thoughtfull care, as she that all in vaine
Would weare and waste continually in paine.

Her eyes, unstedfast rolling here and there,
Whurl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought:
So was her mind continually in feare,
Tossed and tormented with tedious thought
Of those detested crimes which she had wrought:
With dreadfull cheere, and lookes throwne to the skie,
Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Next saw we Dread—all trembling how he shooke!
With foote uncertaine, profered here and there,
Benum'd of speech, and, with a ghastly looke,
Searcht every place; all pale, and dead for feare;
His cap borne up with staring of his heare:
Soyn'd and amaz'd at his own shade for dreed,
And fearing greate dangers then was need.

And next, within the entrie of this lake,
Sate fell Revenge, gnashing her teeth for ire;
Devising meanes how she may vengeance take;
Never in rest till she have her desire;
But frets within so far forth with the fire
Of wreaking flames, that now determines she
To die by death, or veng'd by death to be.

When fell Revenge, with bloudie foule pretence,
Had shew'd herselfe as next in order set,
With trembling limbes we softly parted thence,
Till in our eyes another sight we met:
When from my heart a sigh forthwith I fet,

Ruing alas! upon the wofull plight
Of Miserie, that next appear'd in sight.

His face was leane, and some deale pin'd away;
And eke his hands consumed to the bone:
But what his body was I cannot say,
For on his carkas raymente had he none,
Save clouts and patches, pieced one by one:
With staffe in hand, and scrip on shoulder cast,
His chief defence against the winter's blast.

His food for most was wilde fruits of the tree,
Unlesse sometime some crums fell to his share,
Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,
As one the which full daintily would faire:
His drinke the running stream; his cup the bare
Of his palm closde; his bed the hard cold ground:
To this poore life was Miserie ybound.

Whose wretched state when we had well beheld,
With tender ruth on him, and on his feeres,
In thoughtfull cares forth then our pace we held.
And by and by another shape appeares,
Of greedie Care, still brushing up the breers;
His knuckles knob'd, his flesh deepe dented in;
With tawed hands, and hard ytanned skin.

The morrow gray no sooner hath begun
To spread his light, even peeping in our eyes,
When he is up, and to his worke yrun.
But let the night's blacke mistie mantles rise,
And with foule darke never so much disguise
The faire bright day, yet ceaseth he no while,
But hath his candles to prolong his toile.

By him lay heavie Sleepe, cosin of Death,
Flat on the ground, and still as any stone;
A very corps, save yeelding forth a breath.
Small keepe tooke he whom Fortune frowned on,
Or whom she lifted up into the throne
Of high renown; but, as a living death,
So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath.

The bodies rest; the quiet of the heart;
The travailes ease; the still night's feere was he:
And of our life in earth the better part;
Rever of sight, and yet in whom we see
Things oft that tide, and oft that never bee.
Without respect esteeming equally
King Crœsus' pompe, and Irus' povertie.

And next in order sad Old Age we found:
His beard all hore, his eyes hollow and blind;
With drouping cheere still poring on the ground,
As on the place where nature him assign'd
To rest, when that the Sisters had untwin'd
His vital thred, and ended with their knife
The fleeting course of fast declining life.

There heard we him, with broke and hollow plaint,
Rue with himselfe his end approching fast;
And all for nought his wretched mind torment
With sweete remembrance of his pleasures past,
And fresh delites of lustie youth forewast:
Recounting which, how would he sob and shreek
And to be yong again of Jove beseeke.

But, and the cruel fates so fixed be
That time forepast cannot returne again,
This one request of Jove yet prayed he—
That in such withred plight, and wretched paine,
As eld (accompanied with loathsome traine)
Had brought on him, all were it woe and griefe,
He might a while yet linger forth his life;

And not so soone descend into the pit
Where Death, when he the mortall corps hath slaine,
With wretchlesse hand in grave doth cover it,
Thereafter never to enjoy againe
The gladsome light, but, in the ground ylaine,
In depth of darknesse, waste, and weare, to nought,
As he had nere into the world been brought.

But who had seene him, sobbing how he stood
Unto himselfe, and how he would bemone
His youth forepast, as though it wrought him good

To talke of youth all were his youth forgone,
He would have musde and marvail'd much whereon
  This wretched Age should life desire so faine,
  And knows ful wel life doth but length his paine.

Crookebackt he was, toothshaken, and blere eyde;
Went on three feete, and sometime crept on foure;
With old lame bones that rattled by his side;
His scalpe all pil'd, and he with eld forlore;
His withred fist still knocking at Death's dore;
  Fumbling, and driveling, as he draws his breath,
  For briefe, the shape and messenger of Death.

And fast by him pale Maladie was plaste,
Sore sicke in bed, her colour all forgone;
Bereft of stomacke, savour, and of taste:
Ne could she brooke no meate, but broths alone:
Her breath corrupt; her keepers every one
  Abhorring her; her sicknesse past recure;
  Detesting physicke, and all physicke's cure.

But oh the doleful sight that then we see!
We turn'd our looke, and, on the other side,
A griesly shape of Famine mought we see,
With greedie lookes, and gaping mouth, that cried
And roared for meate as she should there have died.
  Her bodie thin, and bare as any bone,
  Whereto was left nought but the case alone:

And that, alas! was gnawne on every where
All full of holes, that I ne mought refraine
From teares to see how she her arms could teare,
And with her teeth gnash on the bones in vaine,
When all for nought she faine would so sustaine
  Her starven corps, that rather seemed a shade
  Than any substance of a creature made.

Great was her force whom stone wall could not stay:
Her tearing nailes, snatching at all she saw;
With gaping jawes that by no meanes ymay
Be satisfied from hunger of her mawe,
But eates herselfe, as she that hath no law:

Gnawing alas! her carcase all in vaine,
Where you may count each sinew, bone, and vaine.

On her while we thus firmely fixt our eyes,
That bled for ruth of such a driery sight,
Loe suddenly she shrunkt *(shriekt)* in so huge wise
As made hell gates to shiver with the might.
Wherewith a dart we saw how it did light
Right on her brest, and, therewithall, pale Death
Enthrilling it, to reave her of her breath.

And by and by a dumbe dead corps we saw,
Heavie, and cold, the shape of death aright,
That dants all earthly creatures to his law;
Against whose force in vaine it is to fight:
Ne Peers, ne Princes, nor no mortall wight,
No Towne, ne Realmes, Cities, ne strongest Tower,
But all perforce must yeeld unto his power.

His dart anon out of the corps he tooke,
And in his hand, a dreadfull sight to see!
With triumph eftsoones the same he shooke,
That, most of all my feares, affrayed me:
His bodie dight with nought but bones, per die.
The naked shape of man then saw I plaine,
All, save the flesh, the sinow, and the vaine.

Lastly stood Warre; in glittering arms yclad,
With visage grim, sterne looks, and blackely hewed.
In his right hand a naked sword he had,
That to the hilts was all with blood embrued;
And in his left that Kings and Kingdomes rued,
Famine and fire he held, and there withall
He raced townes, and threw downe towers and all.

Cities he sackt, and Realmes that whilome flowred
In honour, glorie, and rule above the best
He overwhelmed, and all their fame devoured;
Consumed, destroyed, wasted, and never ceast,
Till he their wealth, their name, and all, opprest.
His face forehew'd with wounds, and by his side
There hung his targ, with gashes deepe and wide.

In midst of which depainted there we found
Deadly Debate, all full of snakie heare,
That with a bloodie fillet was ybound,
Out breathing nought but discord every where:
And round about were portraid heere and there
The hugie hosts; Darius, and his power;
His Kings, Princes, his Peeres, and all his flower.

This great man married Cicely, daughter of Sir John Baker, of Sittinghurst Castle, in Kent, by whom he had three sons; Robert, his successor; William, who was knighted in France, in 1591, by Henry the great, at the age of nineteen, and fell in battle there two years after; and Thomas, who was also distinguished as a military man: and three daughters; Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Glemham, of Glemham, in Suffolk; Jane, married to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague; and Mary, to Sir Henry Neville, son, and successor, to Edward, Lord Abergavenny.

Engraved by W.H.Mote.

SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

OB. 1612.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF CORNELIUS JANSEN, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

London, Published Jan.1,1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

It is a proud reflection for the lovers of literature that the name of this eminent person should scarcely be known but as that of one of its most zealous cultivators—that Europe should ring, as it ever will, with the fame of that prodigious treasure which it owes to his learning, his diligence, and his munificence, and that it should be nearly forgotten, even in his own country, that he was any otherwise distinguished. Such is the triumph of immutable principle over fleeting habit; of wisdom over cunning; of the judgment over the passions. In our admiration of the retired collector of a library, we have ceased to remember that his counsels once guided the decisions of sovereigns, and poised the fate of nations. Sir Thomas Bodley was a statesman of the first order, in merit, if not in place; and it will therefore be the object of these pages rather to recall to memory the circumstances of his political life, than to recapitulate minutely the history of that immortal foundation which is already so closely connected with his very name, that while we remember the one, we cannot forget the other.

He was descended from a respectable family, though of no great antiquity, in Devonshire, and was the eldest of the three sons of John Bodley, of Exeter, in which city he was born on the second of March, 1544, by Joan, daughter of Robert Hone, of Ottery St. Mary, in the same county. The persecution under Queen Mary compelled his father, who was a zealous reformer, to seek refuge in a foreign country; and, after some wandering, he settled his family, about the year 1556, at Geneva, and in the University then newly established there his son Thomas commenced his education under teachers of the highest eminence. In some short notices of his life, written by himself, which, together with a few other matters

relative to him, were published in 1703, in an octavo volume, now rather scarce, by the antiquary Thomas Hearne, under the title of "Reliquiæ Bodleianæ," he informs us that he was taught Hebrew by Chevalier, and Greek by Beroald and Constantine; and, in particular, that he studied divinity under Calvin and Beza. He returned to England immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, full of learning, and of affection for the Protestant persuasion and became a student of Magdalen College, in Oxford, where, in 1563, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and became probationer of Merton College, of which house in the ensuing year he was admitted fellow. In 1565 he read a Greek lecture in the hall of that College; in 1566, obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and read the lecture on natural philosophy in the Schools: and in 1569 was elected one of the Proctors, and undertook the office of University Orator, which he exercised for several years. He remained at Oxford till 1576, when he set out to visit the continent. Thus the first eighteen years of Bodley's manhood were purely academical, and hence that latent affection and gratitude to the university, conceived in the warmth of youth, and matured by the reflection of riper age, which burst forth with renewed vigour towards the conclusion of his life. That those sentiments were for a while suspended is evident from his own account; "In 1576," says he, "I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the service of the State." He passed nearly four years in a slow and inquisitive journey through France, Germany, and Italy, and returned to his college to connect and systematize his observations by reading the best authors on History and Politics. In 1583 he was introduced, we know not by what means, at the Court, and was appointed a Gentleman Usher, or, according to Antony Wood, an Esquire of the Body, to Queen Elizabeth: He soon after married Anne, daughter of a Mr. Carey, of Bristol, and the rich widow,

says the author just now mentioned, for we have it only on his authority, of some person of the name of Ball.

It was Elizabeth's habit to seek for political ability through all ranks of her servants, and to try their talents and their fidelity in minor embassies. Bodley attracted her notice, and she dispatched him in 1586 on a circular mission to Frederic King of Denmark, and to the German Princes of the Protestant persuasion, to urge them to aid her endeavours in favour of the French Huguenots, then headed by the great Henry King of Navarre. He acquitted himself in this employment so much to her satisfaction, that she appointed him, immediately after his return, to another, not only of a nature almost wholly different, but which required a far greater measure of dexterity and delicacy. Henry the Third of France, the declared patron of the Papal interest in this realm, had been driven from his capital by that memorable party led by the Duke of Guise, which had named itself the Holy League, and which, with the usual detestable affectation of faction, had professed to unite for his defence and protection in that character. To him was Bodley sent with such extreme caution and secresy, that he was not permitted, as he informs us, to take with him even a single servant, nor any other letters than such as were written by the Queen's own hand. "The effect," says he, "of that message it is fit that I should conceal; but it tended greatly to the advantage of all the Protestants in France, and to the Duke's overthrow, which also followed soon upon it."

Elizabeth, having thus proved his worth, nominated him, in 1588, her resident minister at the Hague, a station then at the head of English diplomacy, the United Provinces being, from well-known historical circumstances, the theatre on which the political combat between her, and her great rival Philip of Spain, might be fought with the best prospect of success. In order to preserve her ascendancy there he was admitted, according to a stipulation insisted on by Elizabeth before his departure, a member of their Council of State, in the sittings of which he placed himself, by her

order, next to Count Maurice of Nassau. He enjoyed in this mission her perfect confidence. "After the Queen," says he, "had had some experience of my conduct there, from that time forward I did never almost receive any set instructions how to govern my proceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage, in a manner, of all her affairs was left to me, and my discretion." Of the zeal, as well as the wisdom, with which he managed those affairs, we have a noble instance in a letter in the Harleian Collection (No. 278, p. 190,) hitherto unpublished, the great length of which obliges me, though with much reluctance, to content myself with giving a few extracts from it. It is indorsed by himself, "Project of a Letter which I proposed to send to the Emperor's Ambassadors; Nov. 1591," and affords perhaps the finest example extant of the frank and masculine spirit which then guided the policy of England, not to mention the very singular coincidence of the public circumstances to which it alludes with those of the time in which we have the misfortune to live.

"Having lately understood," he begins, "as well by those letters which yow have written to the States, and to your friendes in these contreis, as by divers other meanes of assured intelligence, that yow determine very shortly to addresse yourselves to the forsaide States, and in the name of the Emperor's Majestie to motion some agreement between them and the Spaniard, I have thought it very requisit, for discharge of my dewtie to my Sovereign Lady and Mistresse, the Queene's Majestie of England, who hath bin pleased to honour me with the place of her counsailor in this Counsaile of State, and for those principal respects which I beare, in all humilitie, to the Emperor's Majestie, between whom and my Soveraigne all offices of amitie have bin alwaies intertened, to prevent your comming hither with such advice as this place, and my fonction, will afford." He proceeds to remind the Austrian Ambassadors that the States, ten months before, had addressed to the Emperor, and to other Princes of the Germanic body, their earnest protest against such mediation: and then informs them that in the articles

between Elizabeth and the States, "it is a special point agreed that neither the general nor particular States of those provinces shall enter into treatie with the common enemie, the Spaniard, nor with any Prince or Potentat in his behalf, without the privitie or consent of the Queene's Majestie of England;" and that such article, above all others, was recommended most precisely to the charge of all Elizabeth's ministers, military as well as civil, in the United States, and most effectually set down in their oaths. That the States themselves undoubtedly entertained the same opinion and resolution. "Nevertheles," adds he, "as if we knewe not that intention of the forsaide States, we are thus much of ourselves to signifie from hens: That unless yow come autorised to this treaty of peace with the allowance and warrant of the Queen our mistresse, we must, all in generall, and every one in particular stand against yow, not only with good arguments of reason and persuasion, but with all the meanes that we can make, by any violence or force, to disturbe your attempts, and that without attending or expecting what the contrey shall resolve." After some apology for the sternness of this declaration, he proceeds to give his reasons why the States cannot hearken to any proposals for peace with Spain. "First, they say it is certaine, whatever is averred by others to the contrary, that the King of Spaine's disposition is wholly opposit to peace; and this is proved apparently by a common observation which is in every man's discourse—that there is noe warre at this day in any part of Christendome but is directly or indirectly, sturred and maintained by the King of Spaine. What example can be plainer than his present partaking in the kingdome of France? Where, without a just reason, be pretext of just occasion, he endevoureth to depose the right owner from his scepter, and all under coller of zele and divotion to the Romishe religion. And, if that be all his cause, as his pretence is no other, would the Emperor's Majestie have this people to imagine that the King of Spaine can be pleased to permitte unto them over whom he clameth a right, and absolut autoritie, the use of

that religion for the extirpation whereof he poursueth a forraine Prince with all the actes of hostilitie that he can possibly practise? His purpose is too manifest: He mindes to make holyday with the states of these contreis till his maters in France succeede to his minde, and then his hope is undoubtedlie that not onely these Provinces united, but England, and Scotland, and every part of Germany, or of any other contrey that is different from him in religion, or disjoined by faction, shall accept of such lawes as he, for his benefit shall prescribe unto them."

Having stated much at large the repeated breaches of treaty, and the various deceptions practised by the King of Spain towards the United Provinces, he goes on—"But, besides the examples among themselves, they saw the other day in his dealing with England a most palpable patterne of Spanish falshoode and deceate: For, even then, and at the same instant that his ministers were emploied to persuade her Majestie to a peace, by proposing unto her verie plausible conditions, he armed a navy to the seas which, in his Lucifer's pride, he termed "Invincible," to make a conquest of her kingdome. But howe that wickednes was punished by the mightie hand of God it is knowen 'ere this to all the worlde, and it will be recorded to all posteritie. In effect," adds Bodley, after having cited other instances of treachery, "all his actions are directed by that most unchristian and barbarous maxime, that with an hereticke there is no faith to be observed; which infamous point of doctrine was most wickedly devised by the Pope, and Popish Princes, to serve their worldly turnes; distrusting, as it seemeth, the truth of their owne religion; as if God were not able (their cause being just, as they are persuaded, and their party being greater by many multitudes of people,) to uphold their estates without the breache of common faith. But if this be so maintened against heretickes in general, what application will be made by the King, and his favourers, against the heretickes of this contrey which have taken armes against him, have renounced his religion, solemnly deposed him by way of abjuration, and deli-

vered unto others the possessions of his landes?" This very memorable letter concludes with the following expressions—"Unless yow shewe for your comming the liking and permission of her Majestie, my Soveraigne, I must needes forewarne yow, as before, that as many of us as are heere of her Majestie's subjects doe resolve to withstand yow, as perturbers of the amitie betweene her and the contrey; and, in that respect, every man, in his charge, will accomplishe the duties of his faith and obedience by forcing yow from hens: and, though I speake in this sorte very plainely and roundly, being bounde thereto by mine othe and allegeance, yet I rest out of doubt that your singular wisdomes will expounde my meaning to the best; and, being so well preadvertised of the strict alliance and contract between her Majestie and these contreis, will forbeare upon it to goe forward with your voiage intended. But if it so fall out in truth, as in semblance is pretended, that the Kinge of Spaine, either weried with his warres, or reduced to extremity, or finding in continuance that God doth not prosper his dissembled proceeding, shall be willing now at length to speake as he thinketh, and to stipulate a firme and a durable peace, there is no other meanes to effect his purpose but by causing the like proffers of peace as are made to these provinces to be presented in like sorte to her Majestie of England, to the King in France, and to as many other Princes as sitte complaininge at the helme of the common cause, and runne in danger to be drowned in the bottomlesse gulph of the Spanish ambition. To this there is no doubt but the Kinge will condescend, if his minde and meaning be cleere and upright; and this is it which her Majesty, my soveraigne, the States of these contreis, and every forraigne Potentat, will most willingly helpe forwarde with all the meanes of assistaunce that they can minister unto him."

In this important station Bodley remained for nine years, making some occasional visits to his Court, in one of which, in 1595, he highly offended Elizabeth by some proposals which he brought from the States relative to their debts to her. "I hear," says he,

in one of his several letters to Mr. Anthony Bacon, preserved in Dr. Birch's Memoirs, " for my comfort, that the Queen, on Monday last, did at the Court wish I had been hanged." He returned however soon after to the Hague, from whence he was not finally recalled, and then at his own earnest request, till 1597. He never held any other public employment. It was his misfortune, according to his own account, to be equally regarded both by Burghley and Essex, each of whom had frequently recommended him with much earnestness to Elizabeth for the place of Secretary of State, his appointment to which, through jealousy, was always thwarted by the other. Perhaps Elizabeth's dread of strengthening the party of Essex, who certainly was his warmest friend, was yet a stronger impediment. Be this as it may, he determined to retire from public life, and though frequently solicited by her, and by her successor, to accept of high and important offices in the State, abided by his resolution.

He had undoubtedly long entertained the noble design of restoring, or rather founding, the public library at Oxford, for he had scarcely found himself at home when he began to collect books for it with such zeal and avidity that, even before the end of that year, he had amassed a great treasure of general literature, and had formally communicated his intention to the University. Sensible, however, that the life, as well as the wealth, of any individual must fall far short of the accomplishment of the plan he had laid, he spared no pains in invoking the aid of the rich and the learned, and obtained vast contributions in money as well as in books. Many amusing instances of his anxieties, his doubts, his disappointments, and even his jealousies, with regard to these benefactions, may be found in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, in a long series of his letters to Dr. William James, who was his chief agent in the collection, and the first person who had the office of keeper of the library after its final establishment. We meet in one of them with a curious proof of blameable vanity. Bodley was solicitous to conceal the assistance which he received from others, and thus

betrays that disposition which he aukwardly labours to dissemble —"I am utterly against it that there should be any mention of their names and gifts that are the chiefest contributors to the library, for that few in that case would be willingly omitted, and the gift of the greatest is hardly worth publishing as a matter of much moment: besides that the number increaseth continually; and, as I am persuaded, when those that are to come after shall see no likelyhood of occasion to be honoured, as the former, by some public monument, it may slacken their devotion. And, as for myself, I am wholly uncertain how far I shall proceed in my expence about that work, having hitherto made no determinate design, but purposing to do as my ability shall afford, which may increase or diminish, and as God shall spare my life, although unto myself I do resolve in a general project to do more than I am willing to publish to the world. It may suffice, in my conceit, if the party employed in the answer to Weston shall but signify, in general, to what forwardness that work of so great a public benefit is already brought by my means, in special, and then by the aid of such of my honourable friends, and others, as in affection to me, and for the advancement of learning, have been moved to set their helping hand to it; so as in time it is like, and perhaps very shortly, to be a most admirable ornament as well of the State as of the University; to the effecting whereof though so many men concur, yet the plotting and ordering of all things, and the bulk of all the burthen, for matter of cost, and otherwise, both hath and will be mine; wherein, as I will not assume the deserts to myself of other men's bounties, so I would not that mine own, in a public memorial, should be lessened."

Even before the end of the year 1599 the Bodleian Library had become, with the exception of the Vatican, perhaps the first public collection in Europe, and very soon after stood wholly unrivalled. James I., who really loved literature, gave a warrant under the Privy-seal to the founder for such books as he might choose to take from any of the Royal libraries, and the fashion set by the

Monarch was eagerly followed by his courtiers. The simple line of building which had formerly contained Duke Humphrey's Library, and which had already been repaired by Bodley, having been long insufficient to admit even a fourth part of his collection, he proposed to the University to convert it, at his own charge, into that noble quadrangle in which it now remains. The first stone of the new building was laid, with great formalities, on the nineteenth of July, 1610, but the founder did not live to see it completed. He had not neglected however to provide for it by his will, by which also he settled two hundred pounds annually on the library for ever, having previously composed, with great care and judgement, a large body of statutes for its government, the original of which, in his own hand writing, is preserved there, and has been long published, annexed to the Statutes of the University, and otherwise.

Sir Thomas Bodley, for he had been knighted by King James the First, on that Prince's accession, died, without issue, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1612, and lies buried at the head of the choir of Merton College Chapel, under a superb monument executed in the best taste of the time.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

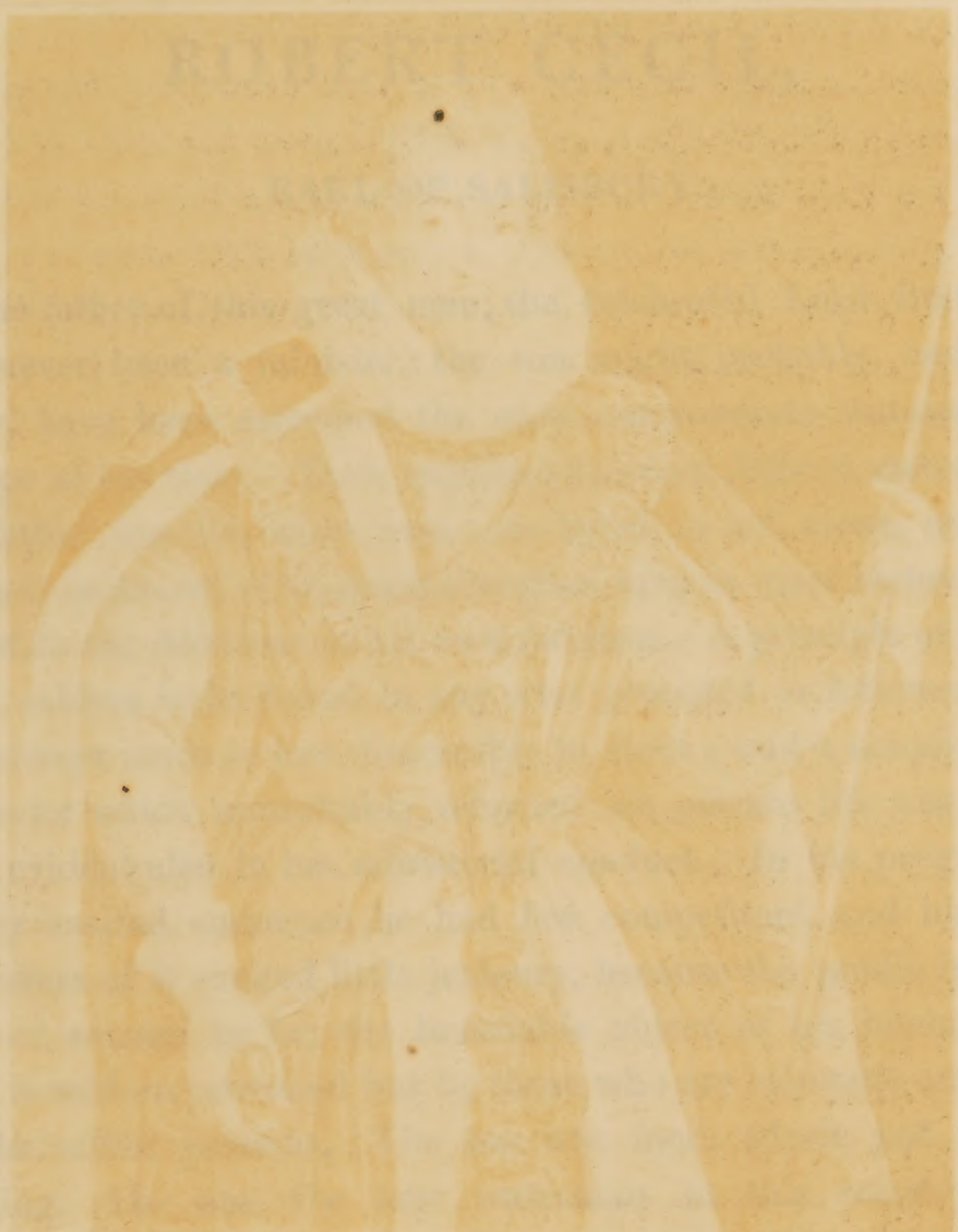
ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY.

OB. 1612.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

London Published May 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



ROBERT CECIL,

EARL OF SALISBURY.

If the father of this great man, the celebrated Lord Burghley, had never been a minister, the son might probably, and very justly, have been esteemed the most consummate statesman in Europe of his time. Their qualities however differed materially: the father was the wiser man: he loved to act alone, and the greatest measures of his administration may in most instances be traced to the decisions of his own intellect. A principle of moral right, seldom to be found in any who preceded or followed him, was always more or less discernible in them; and a simplicity of character which remarkably adorned his private life was generally evident also in his ministerial conduct. In his progress to a very exalted eminence he had few competitors, and his long possession of it excited little jealousy, because the public interest was, or seemed to be, the invariable object of his labours, for envy is seldom provoked but by those who are evidently actuated by the selfish passions. The son was more adroit, not to say cunning. He was the first statesman in this country who practised, with the air of a system, the policy of governing by the opposition and balance of parties. His own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures, and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments. He was charged, perhaps often unjustly, with duplicity, and with angry and revengeful partialities, nor was he wholly unsuspected of sharing in the gross venality to which most public ministers of all ranks were tempted by the absurd carelessness and profuseness of the Monarch in whose reign he chiefly

flourished. Salisbury was pliant, and served Elizabeth with as high a degree of favour as his father, but the wisdom and stern integrity of Burghley would have disqualified him for the place of High Treasurer to a Prince of James's character.

Robert Cecil was the only son of that exemplary minister by his second wife, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Gidea Hall in Essex. Of the date of his birth we have the most discordant accounts, but it seems to have occurred about the year 1560. He received the education usual to persons of his rank at home, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, and, though he was in fact bred from his very childhood for the Court and the State, became amply accomplished in every branch of polite literature. His constitution was weak and sickly, insomuch that his person became deformed, and it was long before he was able to bear the fatigue of any unusual bodily exertion; but in 1584 he ventured to attach himself to the splendid embassy of Henry Earl of Derby to the Court of Paris, and in 1588 had so far mastered his infirmities as to join the number of young nobility who were witnesses to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Several years however yet passed before he was specifically appointed to any post in the government, during which he was receiving from his father that last instruction in state affairs which can be derived only from a participation in the management of them. The most advantageous opportunity for this was offered by the death of Walsingham, in 1590, and Burghley instantly seized it. He persuaded Elizabeth, on what grounds is now unknown, to keep the office of Principal Secretary nominally vacant, and for the six succeeding years transacted the business of it himself, with the assistance of his son, who in the summer of 1596 was at length formally appointed to it. From this promotion originated the lasting enmity between Cecil and Essex, who had proposed to the Queen first Davison, and then Bodley, for the Secretaryship, and had on those occasions, says Camden, before whose report the tales of such writers as Welden

and Osborne sink into contempt, " with so much bitterness, and so little reason, disparaged Cecil," that she would not listen to Essex's recommendation, even insomuch as to permit either of the objects of his choice to act as coadjutor to Cecil in the office.

In 1597 Elizabeth conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about the same time gave him the custody of the Privy Seal; and in the following year he was the chief commissioner on the part of England in the negotiation for a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain which is known by the name of the treaty of Vervins. Before his departure, such was his opinion of the honour of his generous adversary, he is said to have earnestly sought, and at length to have obtained, from Essex a promise not to injure him during his absence by promoting any of his enemies. He succeeded his father, who died in the autumn of that year, in the post of Master of the Wards, and in his office of secretary exercised in fact that of prime minister for the remaining five years of the Queen's life, with as full a share of her favour and confidence as she had at any time bestowed on his illustrious natural and political predecessor. He had indeed many of his father's qualifications to recommend him, and some, as has been already observed, which that great statesman never possessed. No one among her ministers but himself could have supplied the loss of Walsingham, who furnished her with the means of controlling foreign powers through intelligence gained in their own courts. Cecil even rivalled him in this dark faculty, and Elizabeth, in whom we find the worst meannesses of the feminine character united to an extravagance in the factitious splendor of royalty, valued him accordingly.

His memory has been highly censured for his having held a secret correspondence with the King of Scots for some of the last years of her life, and apparently without any just cause, for it has never been insinuated that he betrayed her confidence to that

Prince. Those who have blamed him on this score forget that the reciprocal relations of monarch and minister cannot be expected to involve that delicacy of personal regard which belongs to the affections of private life, and is even there not frequently to be found. Cecil, a minister by trade, sought to ensure the favour of the successor to the Throne, and he did it fairly and honestly. It has been said that his efforts to that end were powerfully seconded by Hume, Earl of Dunbar, perhaps the most creditable of James's Scottish ministers, and an incredible tale is told by a pamphleteer of that day of his meeting that nobleman privately at York, immediately after the Queen's decease, to negotiate for his good offices. James's motives for accepting and retaining Cecil in his station of prime minister are obvious. His services were indispensably necessary, for the Council of Elizabeth contained not an individual qualified to supply his place. The King was arbitrary and idle; sudden, extravagant, and versatile, in the choice of his private familiars; and more ambitious of the character of an able polemic, and an acute theoretical politician, than of a powerful Prince: Cecil was subservient and vigilant; too wise and too proud to entertain a jealousy of mere favourites; and willingly encouraged James to waste in reveries the time which would otherwise have been employed in interfering with his minister's measures.

It is needless to say that he was continued in the office of Secretary. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth he had possessed no higher title than that of a Knight Bachelor, but James now amply compensated him for the omission, for on the thirteenth of May, 1603, he was created Baron Cecil, of Essendon, in the county of Rutland; on the twentieth of August, in the following year, Viscount Cranborne; on the fourth of May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury; and on the twentieth of the same month was installed a Knight of the Garter. He was about that time elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and on the death of Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset in April 1608 was appointed on

the fourth of the following month to succeed him in the great office of Lord Treasurer. With that nobleman Cecil had long lived in the strictest friendship, and we have the good fortune to possess a character of him, drawn by Dorset's exquisite pen, which leaves no room to doubt of the exaggerations of calumny with which his memory has been loaded. The solemn nature of the document in which it is to be found, and the admirable universality of talent and judgement, as well as the perfect integrity and honour of the writer, unite to give it every claim to credit, and as Dorset's name has thus occurred, it may as well be inserted in this place.

In his last will he bequeaths to Cecil several jewels of great value, not only as tokens of a most earnest personal affection, which he declares at considerable length, and with the utmost warmth of expression, " but also, and most chiefly," to use the words of the testator, " even in regard of his public merit, both towards his Majesty and this Commonwealth: wherein," continues he, " when I behold the heavy weight of so many grave and great affairs which the special duty of his place as principal Secretary doth daily and necessarily cast upon him; and do note withal what infinite cares, crosses, labours and travels of body and mind, he doth thereby continually sustain and undergo; and, lastly, do see with how great dexterity, sincerity, and judgement, he doth accomplish and perform the painful service of that place: these divine virtues of his, so incessantly exercised and employed for the good of the public, I must confess have made me long since so greatly to love, honour, and esteem him, and so firmly and faithfully fixed my heart unto him, as I do dailie and heartily pray unto Almighty God to continue all strength and ability, both of body and mind in him, that he sink not under the weight of so heavy a burthen." After fervently praying at some extent for a continuance of the blessings of Providence on his ministry, Dorset concludes—" Thus I have faithfully set down in some sort the noble parts of this honourable

Earl, who, besides such his worthiness and sufficiency for the public service both of his sovereign and country, is also framed of so sweet a nature; so full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, gratitude, and discourse; so easily reconciled to his foe, and evermore so true unto his friend; as I may justly say that it were one of the chiefest felicities that in this world we can possess, to live, converse, and spend our whole life, in mutual love and friendship with such a one; of whose excelling virtues, and sweet conditions, so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last Will and Testament; that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must then cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same."

Cecil's political character, as given by Lord Dorset, is fully justified by the clearest historical evidence. His application to the duties of his several offices was almost incessant, and no object, however minute, which they involved escaped his attention. It appears from an extensive collection of his original papers which were once my property that he had not only informed himself, with a correctness which without such proof would have been altogether incredible, of the precise number of acres; of the several buildings, and their state of repair; of the woods, and of the timber proper to be felled; comprised in all the estates of the crown; but that he had applied his mind distinctly to the consideration of every subdivision of each of those several branches of the subject, and had written innumerable notes on them with his own hand, frequently at great length. So too, in his place of Master of the Wards, he wrote himself at the foot of each petition for wardship, even from the meanest persons, his answer, the mode of which always proved that he had carefully considered the merits of each case. It has been said

that he procured from James large grants of lands, and made exchanges of estates with that Prince unreasonably to his own advantage. If it were so, he did but imitate the practice of all ministers of that age, and of many which preceded it; but, on the other hand, he was perhaps the only minister or courtier of that reign who stood even unsuspected of foreign corruption. He has been charged too with abject submission to the will of his master: it is true that he interfered not with the foibles of the man, but he discouraged, sometimes by argument, sometimes by artifice, the prodigality of the monarch; and opposed, vigorously and openly, the Spanish interest, to which James is well known to have been strongly inclined. On the whole, it is surprising that a Prince so careless and so profuse should have had a servant so honest, and under the impression of that candid and impartial opinion some writer of later days has said that "Cecil was the first bad Treasurer, and the last good one since the reign of Elizabeth."

Of Lord Dorset's report of him as a private man, valuable as it is, for no one else has pourtrayed him in that character, little need be said, because few parts of it have been contradicted. His enmity to Essex, and afterwards to Raleigh, have been frequent themes of historical censure, but neither his motives nor his conduct regarding those unfortunate great men have ever been even slightly examined. His original offence to the former has been already here mentioned, and he aggravated it by opposing the promotion of Bacon to the office of Attorney General. Essex, the slave of passion, vilified him openly, and the cool prudence with which Cecil endured his attacks was called hypocrisy. The Earl suddenly embraced and headed an imbecile faction to drive Cecil from the ministry: the statesman defended himself, and thwarted his adversary by counteracting his schemes for military glory. To us, who live in the age of party, this will seem but fair collision. When Essex was taken in open rebellion his powerful adversary appears to have made no efforts to forward the impending

blow, but he is said to have witnessed the infliction of it, and hence the general impression of his hatred to the unhappy favourite. Some traces of the high generosity as well as of the cruelty of incivilization were to be yet discerned in that time, and Cecil, if he were a spectator of the death of Essex, prevailed on Elizabeth to spare the life of Southampton, that nobleman's dearest friend, and not less his own enemy. Of the causes of his quarrel with Raleigh less is known. They had been united against Essex, and disagreed after his overthrow. It is natural to suppose that their ill offices towards each other were mutual, but we have few particulars of the activity of Cecil's resentment, whose station indeed afforded him opportunities of dealing out his vengeance unseen: Raleigh however is known to have presented a memorial to James on his arrival in England, full of bitter reflections on Cecil, charging him with the ruin of Essex, and his father with the death of the Queen of Scots. Forgiveness, or even forbearance, could scarcely be reasonably expected from the infirmity of nature after such an injury.

To endeavour in a work of this nature to digress from these slight notices of this great man's character into even the most contracted epitome of the history of his ministry would be idle. To conclude then, it may be truly said that he sacrificed his life to the public service. His constitution, naturally weak and delicate, had been so fortified by medical care and temperance, that at the time of the death of Elizabeth he seemed to bid fair for long life. Her system, clear, decisive, and regular, suited the character of his mind, and had become engrafted on his habits; but the care and anxiety attendant on the superintendance of an uncertain policy, and an impoverished revenue, gradually undermined his re-established health. In 1611 he shewed manifest signs of decay, and at length fell into a pulmonary consumption, in the last stage of which he was advised to use the waters of Bath, and after a few weeks' ineffectual trial of them, died, on his return from thence, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1612, at

Marlborough, and was buried in the Parish Church of his princely seat of Hatfield in Herts. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brook, Lord Cobham, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, lineal ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury, and one daughter, Frances, wife of Henry Clifford, fifth Earl of Cumberland.

Engraved by W. Finden.

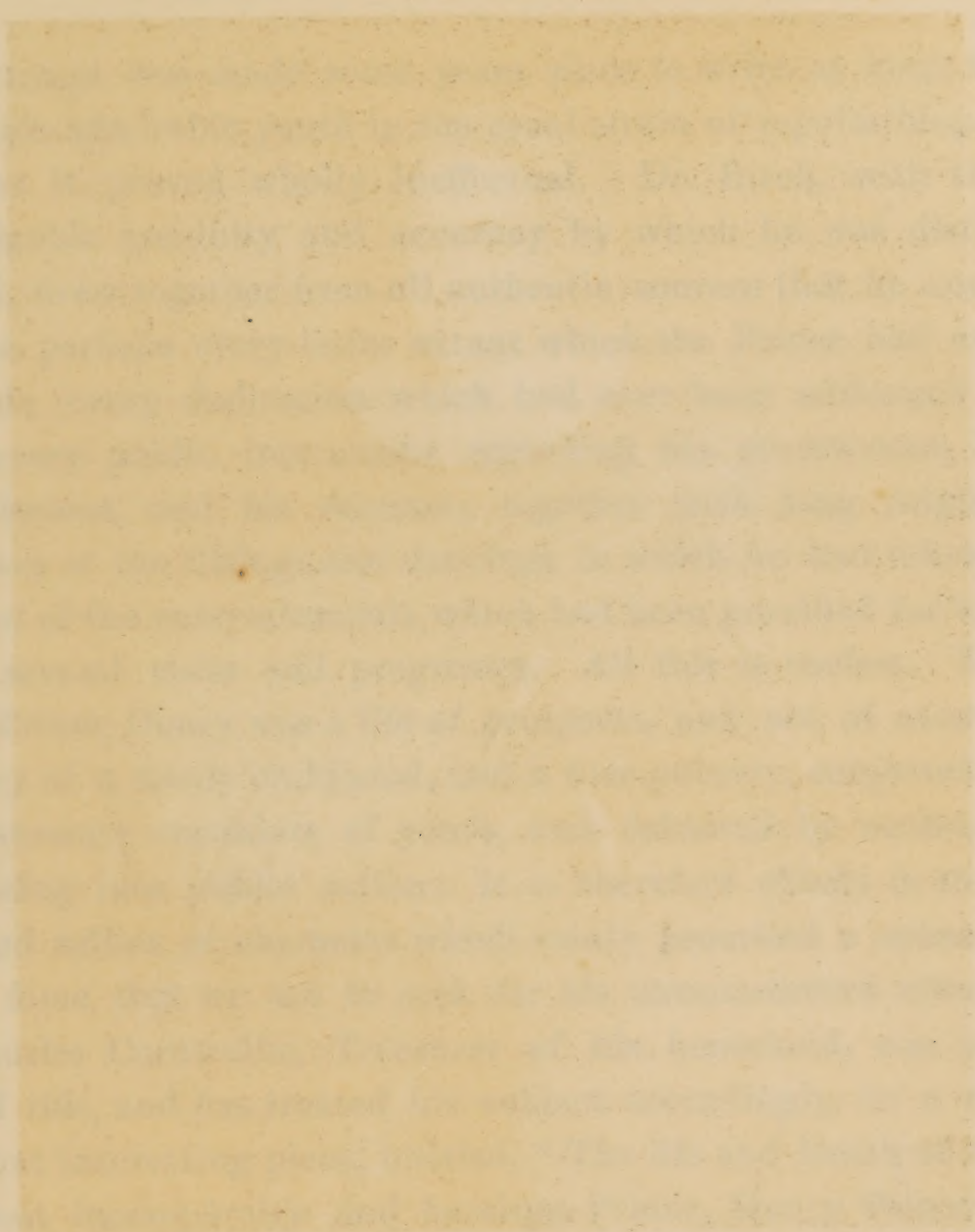
HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

OB. 1612.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East



HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

An attempt was made some years since to write at large the life of this admirable youth in the usual strain of regular biography, but it proved wholly ineffectual. Dr. Birch, with that indefatigable assiduity and accuracy by which he was distinguished, drew together from all authentic sources that he could discover, perhaps every letter extant which the Prince had ever received; every dedication which had ever been addressed to him; every public instrument regarding his government, his establishment, and his revenue; together with long original narratives of the tiltings and dancings in which he had taken a part, and of the entertainments which had been provided for him in his several visits and progresses. All this is useless. The life of Prince Henry was a life of prospects, and not of events; the story of a manly childhood, and a wise puberty, subjected to the customary restraints of youth, and debarred by authority from rising into public action: It is therefore chiefly in those detached sallies of character which vainly promised a splendid future fame that we are to seek for his circumscribed history. Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer of his household, was sensible of this, and has treated his subject accordingly, in a very small but interesting piece, intitled, "The life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales;" which Birch, in his passion for biographical mechanism, has ventured, in the preface to his own work, to call "a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial, and unsatisfactory on almost every head."

Henry was born in Stirling Castle, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. The care of his person, and of his early education, was almost immediately committed to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and the Dowager Countess, his mother,

who is said to have been a singularly ill-tempered woman, and from them he was removed, at the age of six years, to the custody of Adam Newton, a very learned Scotsman, on whom James, after his accession to the throne of England, conferred the title of Baronet, and, though a layman, the Deanery of Durham. It was at this very early period of his life that his father printed his "Basilicon Doron, or his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince," confining the impression to seven copies, and swearing the printer to secrecy; a work which, in the vanity of his heart, he afterwards published to the whole world, under the pretence of correcting erroneous transcripts which he alledged had got abroad, in spite of all his caution. Thus trained, in a half civilized country and court, incessantly under the controul and direction of a pedantic and narrow-minded father, and of a mother lately imported from a land actually barbarous, little might reasonably have been expected from a pupil so situated. A mighty character, however, of nature overcame all these disadvantages. Henry, even from his cradle, gave infallible proofs of the best and greatest qualities. His courage, perhaps the first virtue clearly discernible in infancy, was most undaunted. It is recorded of him, that when he happened to hurt himself, even severely, in the eagerness of his infantine sports, he cried not, but concealed and denied the injury. This disposition soon took a military turn. Looking at a chace which he was too young to be allowed to follow, one of his attendants asked him whether he should like that sport. He answered "yes, but I should better like another kind of hunting; the hunting of thieves and rebels, with brave men and horses."

La Boderie, ambassador from Henry the Fourth of France to James, in a letter to the French Minister, of the 31st of October, 1606, writes thus of him: "None of his pleasures savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses, and of what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than that which

the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scottish diversion very like mall; but always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies for two hours every day, and employs the rest in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting with the bow, throwing the bar, vaulting, or some other such exercise, and is never idle. He is very kind and faithful to his dependents; supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and pushes his endeavours for them, or others, with a zeal which seldom fails of success. He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendancy: while the Prince, on the other hand, shews very little esteem for his Lordship." The testimony of this foreigner deserves implicit credit, and, be it remembered, that he is speaking of a child just thirteen years old.

As his reason unfolded itself, all the milder virtues gradually shone forth in him. Such was his intire love of sincerity, that he could not endure even the innocent and usual fallacies of polite intercourse. Sir Charles Cornwallis informs us, that having laid before him, for his signature, a letter to a nobleman of whom he had no good opinion, which ended with some common place expressions of favour, the Prince commanded him to make another copy, the concluding words of which he himself dictated, saying that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think. "He was so exact," (says an anonymous Harleian MS. addressed to the Lord and Lady Lumley, and entitled "A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous Disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant speeches") in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect to the King, his father, that, though sometimes he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others, yet on the least word, or look, or sign, given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from

pursuing the point; and return, either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor action, gave any appearance of being displeased or discontented." He was strictly pious, and most exact in the exercise of his public and private devotions, and had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God that he was never heard to use it but devoutly: Indeed he abhorred swearing, which, probably because the King himself was much addicted to it, was the fashion of his time. It happened one day when he was hunting that the stag crossed a road in which a butcher and his dog were passing: the dog fell on the stag, and killed it, and the Prince's attendants endeavouring to incense him against the man, he answered, "if the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it?" One of them hereupon took the liberty to say that if the King's hunting had been interrupted by such an accident he would have sworn terribly. "Nay," said the Prince, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

Cornwallis informs us that he loved and practised justice with the utmost strictness. He manifested this disposition particularly in the government of his own family, which consisted of nearly five hundreds of all ranks, in which it is said that a blow was never given, nor a quarrel carried to any height. "Whatever abuses," says that gentleman, "were represented to him he immediately redressed, to the entire satisfaction of the parties aggrieved. In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King, on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties; and he was so solicitous to prevent any person from being prejudiced or annoyed by himself, or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hunt or hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn, and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about."

These admirable moral dispositions ornamented an excellent understanding, and governed a temper naturally very haughty. Never failing in any of the duties of the mere man, Henry, in all he thought, or said, or did, seemed to have constantly in his view the great inheritance which his birth had fallaciously promised to him. His household was a little monarchy, which he ruled with equal power, policy, and benignity. He was master, theoretically, of the art of war, and may indeed be said in some measure to have practised it, for he used the frequent military exercises, for his adroitness in which he was so highly distinguished, in order to qualify himself for the field. Cornwallis informs us that " he performed them with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons who practised with him ;" and adds that " he sometimes walks fast and far, to enable himself to make long marches, when they should be required." He was critically versed in all that related to the navy, even to the most minute circumstances of ship-building, and no one was more highly favoured by him than Phineas Pett, a man who had applied to the study and practice of naval architecture talents which would have rendered him eminent in any other to which he might have directed them. " He loved and did mightily strive," says Cornwallis, " to do somewhat of every thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and all kinds of engines belonging to the wars both at land and sea ; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance ; and in ordering and marshalling of armies ; in building and in gardening ; in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum ; in sculpture, limning and carving ; and in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." The same author, and we cannot have a better authority, tells us that " he was extremely courteous and affable to strangers, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance," but that " he had a certain

height of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach, either to his power or his secrets."

His fault indeed, and perhaps his only fault, seems to have been a degree of reserve so strict and constant, that it could not but have been the result of a temper naturally cold and distrustful. At a time of life usually marked by the sweet errors of over confidence, and extravagant affections, Henry appears but uncertainly in the character either of friend or lover. In the long list of his companions and attendants, Sir John Harington, son, and, for a short time successor, to the first Lord Harington of Exon, a young man of great attainments and the most amiable qualities, seems alone to have enjoyed his intimacy. Among the very few private letters written by the Prince which have been preserved is one to this gentleman, on some subjects of classical criticism, full of sprightliness and ingenuity, but without a single expression of kindness. Still less proof have we of his sacrifices to the tender passion. Cornwallis tells us, in terms which sound oddly enough in our day, that, "having been present at great feasts made in the Prince's house, to which he invited the most beautiful of the ladies of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness's behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any of them, nor was he at any time witness of such words or actions as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue." Some historical pamphleteers, on the other hand, insist that he had a successful intrigue with the beautiful and wicked Countess of Essex, to which they ascribe strange consequences, which will presently be mentioned; but this, if true, was but a solitary amour.

He had certainly formed for himself a line of political conduct which, according to the unhappy fatality, for so it seems, in such cases, was directly opposite to that of his father. His high spirit, and the activity of his nature, had irresistibly inspired him with a warlike inclination; and the strictness of his moral and

religious habits and exercises, together with an utter aversion to the Romish church, rendered him the idol of the puritans, to whom, on his part, he gave many indirect proofs of favour. "He was saluted by them," says the severe but sagacious Osborne, "as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for Rome's destruction." He seems to have been determined never to marry a Roman Catholic. James, in 1611, had proposed to him the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the King feared, and therefore hated, and of whom Henry had said that no one but his father would "keep such a bird in a cage," wrote, doubtless with the Prince's approbation, since they were dedicated to him, two admirable invectives against the match. A Princess of Spain was afterwards offered to him; and in the spring of 1612 a negotiation was commenced for his marriage to a sister of Louis the thirteenth of France, which subsisted even at the time of his death, of the probable termination of which we may judge from his own declaration in his last hours, that he believed the Almighty had visited him with his grievous distemper to punish him for having listened to overtures of marriage with Roman Catholics. His discretion, his temperance, his economy, and the severity as it may be called, of his manners, operated with the effect of satire and reproach on the contrary dispositions in the King, who by degrees became jealous of him, and in the end probably considered him as a formidable rival. Indeed James must have possessed supernatural philosophy to have endured the extent of his son's popularity. "The palpable partiality," says Osborne again, "that descended from the father to the Scots did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry, whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince, merely human, to bring so much felicity into a nation as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James."

These extravagant hopes were suddenly blasted in the autumn

of 1612. He was then in his nineteenth year. Some change appeared to have taken place in his constitution a few months before: he grew pale and thin, and more serious than usual; had heavy pains in his head, and occasional fainting fits; and generally received a temporary relief from sudden bleedings at the nose, which of late had been wholly suspended, owing, as it was thought, to his imprudent practice of too frequent swimming in the Thames when at his palace at Richmond. In August, and when the weather was uncommonly hot, he rode post in two days to Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, to meet the king on his progress, and returned suddenly from the fatiguing ceremonies of that visit, to prepare a great feast for the court on his taking possession of the royal house of Woodstock, which his father had lately assigned to him. These violent exertions produced an aggravated attack of his indispositions, which caused at length what his medical attendants conceived to be a fit of ague, but what was in fact the commencement of a fever of the most furious character. His numerous physicians, according to the error of that time, plied him for six days with what they called cordial restoratives, and vehemently increased the malignity of his disease. One only, and his name should be recorded, Sir Theodore Mayerne, urged the necessity of bleeding, but he was obstinately opposed by the rest of the troop. Two days were suffered to pass before they could be brought to consent, and even then it was deferred till the next morning, though nature had, previously to Mayerne's suggestion, given them the signal for his cure, by one of those sudden discharges of blood from the nose to which he had been accustomed, and which produced an immediate temporary relief. At length only seven or eight ounces were permitted to be drawn, the miserable sufferer, says Cornwallis, "desiring and calling upon them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant." "This day, after bleeding," adds Sir Charles, "the Prince found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his

sickness he had not found himself so well; his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion; missing his former cruel doublings; and his former accidents being less, and more mild;" yet, incredible to tell, the bleeding was never repeated. Delirium, and agonizing convulsions soon followed. Still, such was the strength of his constitution, that he lived for some days, displaying in his intervals of reason the most beautiful and affecting example of patience and fortitude. He died on Friday, the sixth of November, 1612, notwithstanding that the Sages, as Cornwallis informs us, "had lately applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back, and had redoubled their cordials in number and quantity." A most exact and lengthened journal of his illness, and of the means resorted to for his cure, may be found in that gentleman's narrative, exhibiting perhaps the most extraordinary and frightful instances extant of medical presumption and imbecility. Rumours were spread that he died by poison, and Carre, Viscount Rochester, then the guilty suitor, and afterwards the more guilty husband, of the Countess of Essex, was for a time suspected as the murderer; but they obtained little credit, and certainly deserved none.

Sir Charles Cornwallis concludes his little book with the following sketch of the person of this extraordinary young man. "He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high; of a strong, strait, well made body, as if nature in him had shewed all her cunning; with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste; of an amiable majestic countenance; his hair of an auborn colour; long faced, and broad forehead; a piercing grave eye; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown."

Engraved by H. Robinson.

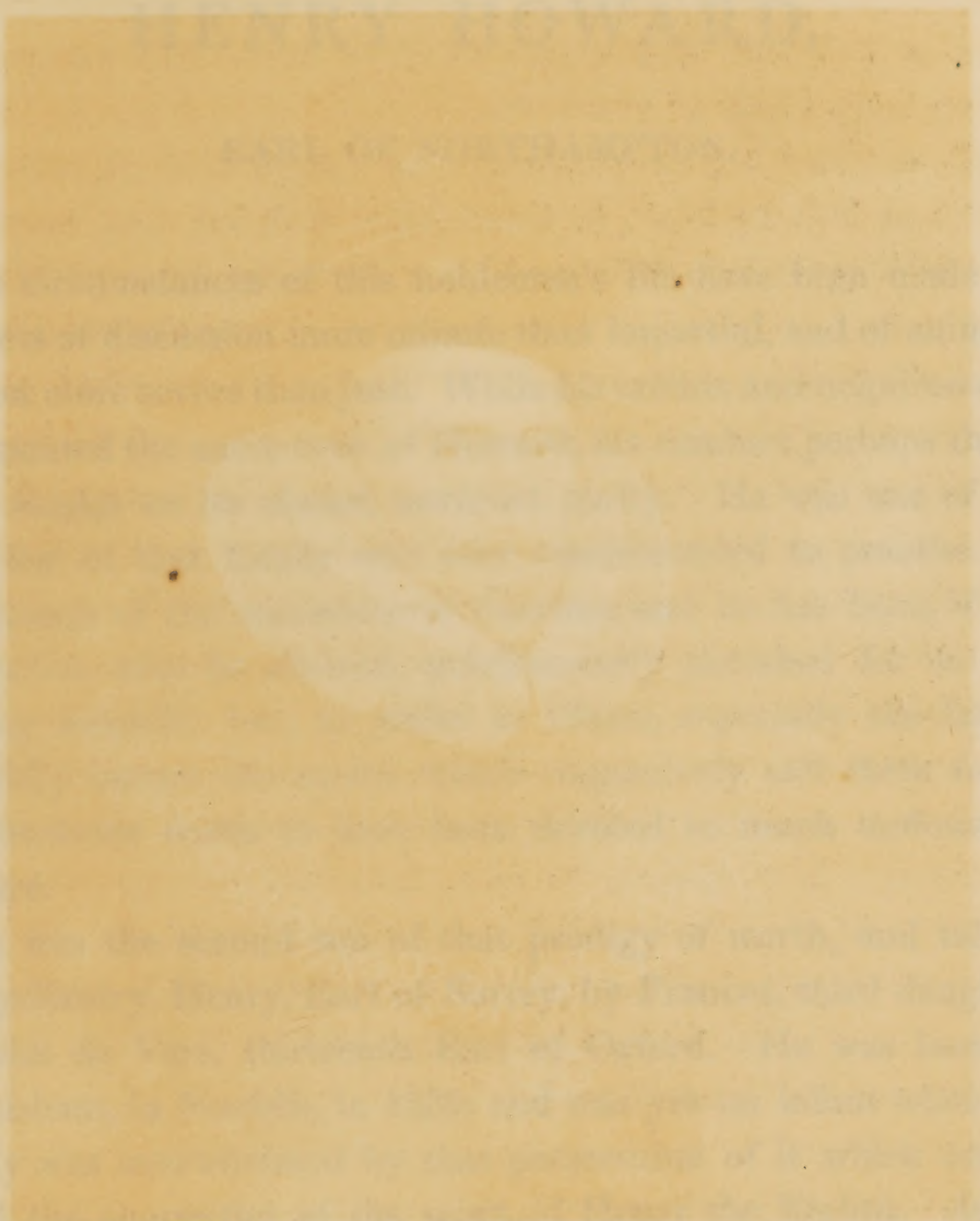
HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

OB. 1614.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

London, Published March 1 1834 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

The circumstances of this nobleman's life have been made the subjects of discussion more minute than impartial, and of animadversion more severe than just. While his talents and acquirements ornamented the name even of Howard, his conduct perhaps threw some shades on its almost unvaried purity. He was one of the very few of that family who ever condescended to practise the littlenesses of the statesman or courtier, and he has been, if the expression may be allowed, posthumously punished for so forgetting himself; but, as praise or blame, especially the latter, generally outrun the merits which respectively call them forth, his character seems to have been devoted to much undeserved censure.

He was the second son of that prodigy of worth, and talent, and gallantry, Henry, Earl of Surrey, by Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. He was born at Shottisham, in Norfolk, in 1539, and was yet an infant when his family was overwhelmed by that persecution of it which terminated the enormities of the reign of Henry the Eighth. As he grew towards manhood, he found himself a younger son, standing alone in the world. His admirable father had been snatched from him by an unjust sentence, and an ignominious execution. His grandfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, had barely outlived the proscription of his House; and his only brother, the youthful heir to mutilated estates just released from an attainder, was waiting the very uncertain decision of Elizabeth's caprice as to the future fortunes of his family. Cramped and chilled by these untoward circumstances, and avoiding with

difficulty the gripe of poverty, Lord Henry Howard became selfish and misanthropic, and suffered his vigorous and sober understanding to degenerate into a mysterious cunning which became habitual, and seems to have influenced his conduct through the whole of a long life.

He received his education first at King's College, and afterwards at Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, and left that university, says Bishop Godwin, with so high a character for erudition, that he was commonly called "the learnedst among the nobility, and the noblest among the learned." Having passed some years in foreign travel, he returned to work his way as well as he could in the most jealous and capricious court then in Europe. Neither his merits nor his misfortunes obtained any consideration from Elizabeth beyond his restoration in blood in her first year; nor was it till towards the conclusion of her long reign that he obtained from her a degree of favour which consisted merely in the empty graces of royal civility, and that he seems to have owed to the influence of Essex, with whom he lived in a strict intimacy. Her distaste to him, however, was not altogether unreasonable, for he was all but a declared Papist, and had been strongly suspected of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots; that cause for which his elder brother bled on the scaffold.

He was amply compensated by her successor. He had been deeply engaged in the negociations with that Prince which were carried on by Sir Robert Cecil, with not less activity than secrecy, in the concluding years of Elizabeth's life, and experienced an uncommon share of his gratitude. James, on his accession, summoned him to the Privy Council; on the first of January, in the succeeding year, made him Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; and on the thirteenth of August following advanced him to the dignities of Baron Howard, of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton. He was soon after constituted one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal; was installed a Knight of the Garter on the

twenty-fourth of February, 1605; and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1608, appointed Lord Privy Seal. He was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and High Steward of Oxford. His conduct in his several public offices stands unimpeached, but his private intercourse with the great men of his time has been charged with treachery. He is said to have alternately played off, as the phrase is, Essex and the two Cecils against each other. Certain it is that letters remain from him to those several parties full of the high toned and hyperbolical expressions of regard which rendered ridiculous the epistolary correspondence of the great in that time, and which he bestowed on all the three in an equal measure. If flattery of that sort can be deemed treachery he was treacherous indeed; but if it cannot, he must be held guiltless of the charge till stronger evidence can be produced: at present we know of none.

His memory has been defamed too by an accusation of a far deeper cast, which seems not better proved than the former. He had the misfortune to be great uncle to Frances, Countess of Essex, the frightful circumstance of whose divorce from her Lord, and subsequent marriage to Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, have been so largely detailed by the historians and memoir-writers of that time. Whether to salve what might have remained of the Countess's reputation, or to court the good graces of Somerset, the new favourite, it is impossible to say, but he certainly made himself a busy instrument in forwarding the match. Possessed of that fact, a late noble writer who had a remarkable talent for defaming the characters of the illustrious dead with the greatest imaginable neatness and politeness, determined to load it with all the mischief of historical conjecture, and, on the authority of two letters in Winwood's Memorials, roundly accuses Lord Northampton of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was said to have been poisoned in the Tower, through the vindictive intrigues of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

The letters in question were copied by the editor of Winwood

from the originals in the Cotton Collection, now in the British Museum, where they may be found in the volume marked " Titus B 4, page 479," &c. They were written by the Earl to Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, immediately after Overbury's death in his custody there. In the first of them (that is to say in that which stands first in the book, for they are not dated), the Earl, by Lord Rochester's (afterwards Somerset) request, desires that " the body may be delivered to any friend of the deceased who may wish to do him honour at his funeral;" and then expresses a doubt whether it may not have been already buried, " on account of its unsweetness, the deceased having been afflicted with some issues." In a postscript he desires the Lieutenant to inform himself whether " this grace hath been afforded formerly to close prisoners." This letter has a remarkable indorsement in the hand-writing of the Lieutenant, stating that on Overbury's death he had written to the Earl to know what he should do with the corpse, " acquainting his Lordship with his issues, and other foulness of his body;" and that the Earl, in answer, had desired him to have it viewed by a jury; and that he would " send for Sir John Lidcote, and as many else of his friends to see it as would." Elwes adds, " the body was very noisome, so that, notwithstanding my Lord's direction, I kept it over long, as we all felt."

In the second letter, to which the indorsement just now cited seems to refer, the Earl earnestly desires that the body may be buried with as little delay as possible, " for," says he, " it is time, considering the humours of the damned crew that only desire means to move pity, and raise scandals." In this letter, however, which is very short, he directs, four several times, that the body should be viewed by the friends of the deceased, previously to its interment.

It would have been but honest in the editor of Winwood to have noticed a third letter, in the same volume, written before Overbury's death, which could scarcely have been overlooked by

any one who inspected the originals. Had he inserted it, however, it would have deprived him of the opportunity of uttering the malignant hint which we find attached to the others, in one of the very few notes which are scattered on the pages of his collection; and, by omitting it, he has misled the opinions of Lord Orford, and of Sir Egerton Brydges, the candour and accuracy of whose pen are even equal to its elegance. In that third letter, the Earl informs Sir Gervase Elwes that, "in compliance with old Mr. Overbury's petition, it is the King's pleasure that Mr. Doctor Cragg, this bearer, shall presently be admitted to Sir Thomas Overbury, that, during the time of his infirmity, he may take care of him, and as often as in his judgment to this end he shall find reason."

Surely these letters, instead of tending to criminate the Earl, exonerate him: nay, they go much further, for they throw a strong doubt on the received opinion that Overbury did not die a natural death. If he were really murdered, can we believe that the Lieutenant of the Tower, and his officers; the physician who attended Sir Thomas, and by the appointment too of his father, in his last illness; the jury, and his own private friends, who viewed his body after death; could possibly have agreed to conceal so horrible a fact? or, if we could suppose that they did so agree at the time, that not an individual, of so many, should ever have divulged it? With these questions, however, this work has no concern, further than as they may apply to the subject immediately before us, to which, after this apology, we may now turn with more satisfaction.

The Earl of Northampton saved from those revenues which himself had acquired a very considerable sum, without unbecoming parsimony, for he was famous for his scrupulous imitation of the grandeur of the ancient nobility in his public appearance, and in his household; and he built that sumptuous palace at Charing-Cross, which was then called Northampton, afterwards Suffolk, and of late years Northumberland-House, in which he ended his

life. He founded also three hospitals; at Greenwich, at Clun in Shropshire, and at Castlerising in Norfolk. His learning, as I have observed, has been highly celebrated, and his natural talents were little inferior to his learning. He employed himself much in his leisure hours with literary composition, and in 1583 printed, at the Earl of Arundel's Press, a very large work, with the following prolix title, which will sufficiently explain its nature and intention—" A Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophesies, not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man; which, being grounded eyther uppon the warrant and authority of old paynted Bookes, Expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of damned Spirits, Judicialls of Astrology, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, de futuris Contingentibus, have been causes of great disorder in the Commonwealth, and cheefely among the simple and unlearned People. Very needfull to be published at this time, considering the late offence, which grew by most palpable and grose errours in Astrologie."

The " late Offence" to which he alludes, and which, as Lord Northampton seldom acted without a particular view, probably furnished the motive to this Treatise, is not to be discovered in history, but the book itself is indeed the result of a prodigious extent of study, equally abundant in scriptural and classical learning, and full of good argument, continually illustrated by curious anecdotes, as well modern as ancient. The rest of his works remain unpublished. Two Treatises to justify female government, the one in the Harleian, the other in the Bodleian Collection: " An Abstract of the Frauds of the Officers of the Navy," among the King's MSS. " A Defence of the French Monsieur's desiring Queen Elizabeth in marriage," also in the Harleian; and some devotional pieces in other departments of the library of the Museum. But the great treasure of his remains is a volume of twelve hundred pages, in the Cotton MSS. marked Titus C 6, consisting of private letters, speeches in Parliament,

small treatises, prayers, detached maxims and observations, poems, &c. written at all times of his life, and here transcribed almost wholly with his own hand. In the authorities which I have consulted for the present purpose I find no notice taken of this very curious collection, which, even from the cursory inspection which I have been able to bestow on it, appears to contain matters of inestimable importance to the history of his time.

This extraordinary man died, unmarried, on the fifteenth of June, 1614. "The Earl of Northampton," says Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, "having, after a lingering fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have borne, by the incision of a wennish tumour on his thigh, yesternight, between eleven and twelve of the clock, departed out of this world."

In his Will, which is dated only on the day before his death, is this passage—"I recognize, with all the loyallnes of my harte, the exceeding extraordinarie love, favour, and bountie, of my most deare and gracious Soveraigne, whom I have found ever so constant to me his unworthy sarvant as no devises of myne enimyes could ever draw or divert his goodnes from me. I most humbly beseech his excellent Majestie to accept, as a poore remembrance of me his faythefull sarvant, a ewer of golde, of one hundred pounds value, with one hundred jacobine pieces of twenty two shillings a peece therein; on which ewer my desyer is there should be this inscription—"Detur Dignissimo." He was buried in the church of Dover Castle.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

OB. 1615.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

London, Published July 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

It is surprising that so little attention should have been hitherto bestowed on the fair subject of this memoir. Not more distinguished by royal lineage than by admirable talents and worth; importantly connected with the history of her time, while her private life was marked by events so strange as to resemble the fictions of romance; a victim to various and almost unceasing calamity, and at length a martyr to the vilest persecution; the circumstances of her story have been hitherto suffered to remain in a great measure uncollected. It is true that her name appears in some works of general biography, and it is true also that the articles to which it is prefixed are always superficial, and in many instances erroneous.

She was the only child of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lenox, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, of Hardwick, in Derbyshire, and is supposed to have been born in 1577. Her father, unhappily for her, was of the royal blood both of England and Scotland, for he was a younger brother of King Henry, father of James the sixth, and great grandson, through his mother, who was a daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scots, to our Henry the seventh. This illustrious misfortune, from which she derived no kind of claim to the throne of Scotland, and but a remote chance of inheriting the English crown, rendered her equally obnoxious to the caution of Elizabeth, and the timidity of James, and they secretly dreaded the supposed danger of her leaving a legitimate offspring. Many subordinate circumstances concurred to increase their aversion. She had been born in England, where her father died in the twenty-first year of his age, and admirably educated under the care of her grandmother, the old Countess of Lenox, who resided in London. Her manners, her habits, and her attachments, were

therefore entirely English, and her character displayed, together with a fine understanding and high accomplishments, a heart so kind, so frank, and so innocent, and such a lively humour, as ensured the admiration and delight of all who knew her. Her exalted rank kept her almost always within the circle of a Court to which she was the chief ornament, and she became there the object of that meaner and more common sort of jealousy which constantly follows superior merit. A disgust of a graver order succeeded; and Princes and Statesmen thought that they discerned in the spontaneous tribute of regard which her perfections demanded the views of a party which had conspired to raise her to the throne. It is true that some of those busy and intriguing spirits, from which no State can ever be entirely free, had occasionally glanced at her presumptive title, and even urged some fantastic arguments in favour of her succession to Elizabeth, and the well known father Persons, in his hatred to that Princess, to whom he was conscious that no theme of disquisition could be more odious, collected their reasonings in a pamphlet of no small extent, which he dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and printed in 1594, under the assumed name of Richard Dolman. This work, although the author had the candour to deny Arabella's claim to the immediate inheritance, published her name and descent in every part of Europe: she became for a time the subject of frequent conversation in all the foreign Courts, and the suspicion in which she was already held at home naturally increased.

James, who beheld her with complacency till he had ascended the throne of England, earnestly desired to marry her to his cousin, Esme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom, before the birth of his own children, he had considered as his heir; but this match was prevented by Elizabeth, under the false pretence that Lenox was a papist. A son of the Earl of Northumberland then addressed her, and was favourably received. Their correspondence, which the great Thuanus mistakingly asserts to have proceeded to a marriage, was necessarily

carried on in privacy, but was presently discovered, and she was placed for a time in confinement, by the Queen's order, but released without further punishment. Thus injured as she had been by Elizabeth, the death of that Princess increased the measure of her misfortunes. Soon after the accession of James, Raleigh, having ruined his own credit with the King by his endeavours to undermine Cecil's, plunged into that conspiracy with the Brooks, so fatal to himself, of which little is known but that its main object was to place her on a throne to which she had neither inclination nor pretensions, and by means unknown to herself. During his trial, at which she was present, on the first mention of her name in the evidence, Cecil rose, and said, " here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech. She is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here, only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King." The old Earl of Nottingham, who stood by her, added, " the Lady doth here protest upon her salvation that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she wills me to tell the court;" and Cecil proceeded—" The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella to know if he might come and speak with her, and gave her to understand that there were some about the King that laboured to disgrace her: she doubted it was but a trick; but Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, saith that my Lord moved him to procure the Lady Arabella to write to the King of Spain; but he affirms that he never did move her as his brother devised." Whether these noblemen seriously meant to exculpate her may perhaps be doubtful; but we have abundant reason to believe that they spoke the truth, since no trace of historical intelligence is to be found that tends to implicate her as an active party in this most obscure, and even ridiculous design.

Some reflections however had been cast on her by one of the witnesses, for Michael Hickes, reciting some particulars of

Raleigh's trial, in a letter to her uncle, Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of the sixth of December, 1603, writes—" They say the La. Arbella's name came to be mentioned in the evidence against him, but she was cleared in the opinion of all, and, as I hard, my L^{d} C. spake very honourably on her behalf; but one that gave in evydence, as it is sayd, spake very grossly and rudely concerninge her La. as I thynk yo^{r} L^{p} hath hard, or shall heare." It is worthy of remark that the passages alluded to by Mr. Hickes do not appear in the printed accounts of Raleigh's trial, in which her name is mentioned only in the indictment; and it should seem that the notes of those parts of the evidence had been suppressed, while the apologetic addresses of the two Lords, to which they had given occasion, were inadvertently suffered to be published. It must be inferred then that James, and his government, not only believed her to be innocent, but were inclined even to favour her, for the trial could not have been published but with their sanction: yet she appears at that time to have lost her credit at Court, where she presently afterwards suffered, together with the mortification of being personally neglected by the royal family, the various vexations of a pecuniary embarrassment extending nearly to poverty. Under all these untoward circumstances, she had no prospect of protection but in marriage, while she durst not openly encourage the addresses of any suitor; and persons of inferior rank, and with sordid views, availed themselves of her situation to make proposals to her which her terrors and distresses induced her to listen to, at least without the contempt which they deserved. Thus too she was forced into habits of deception and hypocrisy contrary to her generous and candid nature. Fowler, Secretary and Master of Requests to Anne of Denmark, in a letter to the same Earl of Shrewsbury, of the third of October, in the following year, says—" My Lady Arbella spends her time in lecture, reiding, hearing of service and preaching, and visiting all the Princesses. She will not heare of marriage. Inderectlie ther wer speaches used in the recom-

mendation of Count Maurice, who pretendeth to be Duke of Gueldres. I dare not attempte her."

Matters proceeded thus till Christmas 1608, when James appears to have received her into some degree of favour, for he gave her, according to the custom of court presents at that season, one thousand marks, to pay her debts, and plate to the amount of two hundred pounds. About this time he granted her, as will be presently shewn by a document which has till now escaped notice, and which contradicts the report of all who have mentioned this part of her story, his permission to marry, only restricting her choice to his own subjects. She determined on William Seymour, grandson, and afterwards heir to the Earl of Hertford, but a natural timidity, which had been increased by constant ill usage, joined perhaps to some doubt of the King's sincerity, or of his resolution, induced her still to dissemble, and they were married with the utmost privacy in January, or February, 1609. Her apprehensions were but too just. A rumour of unusual intimacy between them having been conveyed to the Court, they were summoned before the Privy Council, and reprehended with great severity. As they were then suffered to escape without further punishment, it may be presumed that they yet denied their marriage, and were credited; but in the summer of the following year it was by some means fully discovered, and the Lady was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, in his house at Lambeth, and Mr. Seymour to the Tower of London, where, on his arrival, he was complimented by Melvin, a nonconformist minister, then confined there, with a distich, the pretty quaintness of which may furnish an excuse for the momentary interruption of this narrative—

> "Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris: Ara—
> Bella tibi causa est; araque sacra mihi."

It was probably at this precise period that Arabella addressed to the King the following petition, or letter, which has been preserved in the Harleian collection, together with some other papers

of less moment relating to her marriage, among which is a declaration to the Privy Council by Sir Edward Rodney, that it was solemnized in his presence, in her chamber at Greenwich.

May itt please your most excellent Ma^{tie}.

I doe most hartily lament my hard fortune that I should offend yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, especiallie in that whereby I have longe desired to meritt of yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, as appeared before yo^{r} Ma^{tie} was my Soveraigne: and, thoughe yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ neglect of me, my good likeinge of this gent. that is my husband, & my fortune, drewe me to a contracte before I acquainted yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, I humblie beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to consider howe impossible itt was for me to ymagine itt could be offensive unto yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, havinge fewe days before geven me your royall consent to bestowe myselfe on anie subject of yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$, w^{ch} likewise yo^{r} Ma^{tie} had done longe since. Besides, never havinge ben either prohibited any, or spoken to for any, in this land by yo^{r} Ma^{tie} these 7 yeares that I have lived in yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ house, I could not conceave that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} regarded my mariage att all; whereas, if yo^{r} Ma^{tie} had vouchsafed to tell me yo^{r} mynd, and accepte the free will offeringe of my obedience, I would not have offended yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, of whose gratious goodness I presume so much that, if itt weare as convenient in a worldlie respect as mallice may make itt seame to seperate us whom God hath joyned, yo^{r} Ma^{tie} would not doe evill that good might come thereof; nor make me, that have the honor to be so neare yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in bloud, the first presedent that ever was, though our Princes maie have lefte some as little imitable for so good and gratious a Kinge as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} as David's dealinge with Uriah. But I assure myselfe, if itt please yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in yo^{r} owne wisedome to consider throughlie of my cause, there will noe solide reason appeare to debarre me of justice, and yo^{r} princelie favor, w^{ch} I will endeavor to deserve whilst I breathe, and, never ceasinge to praie for yo^{r} Ma$^{tie's}$ felicitie in all thinges, remaine,

Your Ma$^{tie's}$ &c.

The rigour with which they were first confined was soon abated. She was allowed the range of Sir Thomas Parry's grounds, and at length placed under the charge of Sir James Crofts, in the house of a Mr. Conyers, at Highgate; and Mr. Seymour seems to have had nearly the freedom of a prisoner on parole. They took the advantage of this relaxation to correspond by letters; their intercourse was detected; and the King commanded that Arabella should be removed to Durham. Mutually terrified at the prospect of so total a separation, they determined to fly, and found means to concert a plan for their departure, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, unhappily, however, owing to some error in their appointment, never to meet again. The circumstances of their escape are related in a letter from a Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated on the eighth of that month, with a liveliness and simplicity which could not but be injured by describing them in any other form of words.

"On Monday last, in the afternoon," says Mr. More, "my Lady Arabella, lying at Mr. Conyers's house near Highgate, having induced her keepers and attendants into security by the fair shew of conformity, and willingness to go on her journey towards Durham, which the next day she must have done, and in the mean time disguising herself, by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, pulling on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, walked forth between three and four of the clock with Markham. After they had gone a-foot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held the stirrups said that gentleman would hardly hold out to London; yet, being set on a good gelding astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face; and so she rode on towards Blackwall, where arriving about six of the clock, finding there in a readiness two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full

of Mr. Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their persons, they hasted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come so far, they bade the watermen row on to Gravesend: there the watermen were desirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Leigh, and by that time the day appeared, and they discovered a ship at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor, expecting Mr. Seymour, but, through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoisted sail seaward. In the mean while Mr. Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth suit, walked alone without suspicion from his lodging, out of the great west door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower wharf, by the warders of the south gate, and so to the iron gate, where Rodney was ready with oars to receive him. When they came to Leigh, and found that the French ship was gone, the billows rising high, they hired a fisherman for twenty shillings to set them aboard a certain ship that they saw under sail. That ship they found not to be it they looked for; so they made forward to the next under sail, which was a ship of Newcastle. This, with much ado, they hired for forty pounds to carry them to Calais, but whether the collier did perform his bargain or no is not as yet here known. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, my Lord Treasurer being advertised that the Lady Arabella had made an escape, sent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set strait guard over Mr. Seymour; but, coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before."

Mr. More, having stated some other matters not to our present purpose, adds—"Now the King, and the Lords, being much disturbed with this unexpected accident, my Lord Treasurer sent orders to a pinnace that lay at the Downs to put presently to sea, first to Calais roads, and then to scour up the coast towards Dunkirk. This pinnace, spying the aforesaid bark which lay

lingering for Mr. Seymour, made to her, which thereupon offered to fly towards Calais, and endured thirteen shot of the pinnace before she would strike. In this bark is the lady taken, with her followers, and brought back towards the Tower, not so sorry for her own restraint as she would be glad if Mr. Seymour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect much more than her own." He did in fact arrive safely in Flanders, where he remained for many years a voluntary exile.

The unfortunate Arabella was led a prisoner to London, and placed in the closest confinement. A great parade was made of the enormity of her crime, perhaps to maintain some consonance with the terms of a proclamation which had been issued for the apprehension of herself, and her husband, in which they were charged with "divers great and heinous offences." Her aunt, Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, was also committed to the Tower, and the Earl, her husband, confined in his own house. Even the Earl of Hertford, infirm and superannuated as he was, received a summons to repair instantly to the Court from his distant retirement. Arabella, and Lady Shrewsbury, were immediately questioned at great length by the Privy Council. The former, says More, in another letter to Winwood, "answered the Lords at her examination with good judgment and discretion, but the other is said to be utterly without reason, crying out that all is but tricks and giggs: that she will answer nothing in private; and if she have offended in law, she will answer it in public,"—a resolution surely not less reasonable than high spirited. The same letter informs us that great contrariety of prejudice on the subject of her persecution arose between the English and Scottish parties; the one averring that it was ridiculous to apprehend any design on the throne from pretensions so remote; the other comparing the offence, for the perils that it involved, to the gunpowder treason; "and so," adds More, who appears to have been a man of considerable ability and penetration," it is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations,

and, with him, the Prince, who cannot so easily be removed from any settled opinion."

After long protracted and nice enquiry, no ground could be discovered for any criminal charge against either of them, yet they were suffered to remain close prisoners. Early, however, in the following year, it was suddenly reported to the Court that Arabella was inclined to make extraordinary disclosures, and she was again summoned before the Council, and preferred some strange and incoherent accusations against several persons, among whom was the Countess, her aunt, who was still in confinement: but it presently appeared that the frame of her mind had given way under the pressure of aggravated calamity and unjust seclusion. James and his ministers at length sacrificed to prudence what they had denied to justice and humanity, and all proceedings were dropped; but she was remanded to the Tower, where she soon after sunk into helpless idiocy, and survived in that wretched state till September, 1615, on the twenty-seventh of which month she was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the remains of her kinsman, Henry, Prince of Wales. We find in the poems of Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, the following lines, by way of monumental inscription to her memory, which seem to challenge insertion here.

"How do I thank ye, death, and bless thy power,
That I have passed the guard, and 'scap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcase hath;
For at thy charge both soul and body were
Enlarg'd at last, secur'd from hope and fear.
That amongst saints, this amongst Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim my death hath paid."

Nor shall I be blamed for concluding this memoir with one of her letters, which, as it has no relation to any particular part of her foregoing story, may perhaps be most properly placed here. The good sense, the elegancy of expression, the innocent play-

fulness, and the high politeness, with which she communicates the trifles of which it treats, will tend to prove the truth of the slight view which I have ventured to give of her character, and increase our pity for her sufferings, and our indignation against the memory of her persecutors. It is addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and was written in the year 1603.

"At my returne from Oxford, wheare I have spent this day, whilest my Lo. Cecill, amongst many more weighty affaires, was dispatching som of mine, I found my cousin Lacy had disburdened himselfe at my chamber of the charge he had from you, and straight fell to prepare his fraught back, for hindering his back returne to-morrow morning, as he intendeth.

"I writt to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis' audience: it remaineth to tell how jovially he behaveth himselfe in the interim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hauke's hoods, leather for jerkins, and, moreover, a perfumer. These delicacies he bestoweth amongst our ladies and lords, I will not say wth a hope to effeminate the one sex, but certainly wth a hope to grow gracious wth the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many la. and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford, his abiding place; which he desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish that vice) made his coche stop, and tooke occasion wth petty guiftes and cowrtesies to winne soone wonne affections; who, comparing his manner wth Monsieur de Ronee's hold him theyr farre wellcomer guest. At Oxford he took som distast about his lodging, and would needes lodge at an inne, because he had not all Christe's Colledge to him selfe, and was not received into the towne by the Vice-chancellour, in pontificalibus, which they never use to do but to the King, or Queene, or Chancellour of the University, as they say; but those scruples were soon disgested, and he vouchsafeth to lodge in a peece of the college till his repaire to the King at Winchester.

"Count Arimberg was heere w^th^in these few dayes, and presented to the Queene the Archduke and the Infanta's pictures, most excellently drawne. Yesterday the King and Queene dined at a lodge of S^r^ Henry Lea's 3 miles hence, and weare accompanied by the French Imbasadour, and a Dutch Duke. I will not say we weare merry at the Dutchkin, least you complaine of me for telling tales out of the Queene's coch; but I could finde in my heart to write unto you som of our yesterdaye's adventures, but that it groweth late, and, by the shortnesse of your letter, I conjecture you would not have this honest gentleman overladen w^th^ such superfluous relations. My Lo. Admirall is returned from the Prince and Princesse, and either is or wil be my cousin before incredulous you will beleeve such incongruities in a councellour, as love maketh no miracles in his subjectes, of what degree or age whatsoever. His daughter of Kildare is discharged of her office, and as neere a free woman as may be, and have a bad husband. The Dutch Lady my Lo. Wotton spoke of at Basing proved a lady sent by the Dutchess of Holstein, to learne the English fashions. She lodgeth at Oxford, and hath binne heere twice, and thincketh every day long till she be at home, so well she liketh her entertainment, or loveth her owne countrey. In truth she is civill, and thearfore cannot but look for the like which she brings out of a ruder countrey: but if ever there weare such a vertu as curtesy at the Court, I marvell what is become of it, for I protest I see little or none of it but in the Queene, who ever since her coming to Newbury hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and receiveth theyr prayers w^th^ thanckes, and thanckfull countenance, barefaced, to the great contentment of natife and forrein people; for I would not have you thincke the French Imbassador would leave that attractive vertu of our late Queene El. unremembered or uncommended when he saw it imitated by our most gratious Queene, least you should thinke we infect even our neighbours w^th^ incivility. But what a theame have rude I gotten unawares! It

is your owne vertu I commend by the foile of the contrary vice; and so, thincking on you, my penne accused myselfe before I was aware; therefore I will put it to silence for this time, only adding a short but most hearty prayer for your prosperity in all kindes, and so humbly take my leave. From Woodstocke, the 16 of September.

Yo^{r} Lo'. neece,

ARBELLA STUART."

Engraved by W. Holl.

THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

OB. 1617.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

London, Published Sept.r 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

THOMAS EGERTON,

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

This admirable person, whose virtues and whose wisdom have shed on his memory a fame which the utmost splendour of ancestry could not render more bright, was the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley, in Cheshire, by Alice, daughter of ..... Sparke, and was born in that county about the year 1540. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a commoner of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, and removed from thence in 1559 to Lincoln's Inn, where he studied the law with equal assiduity and success, and acquired soon after his appearance at the bar, the highest distinction, as well for his eloquence as for his professional learning. Many years elapsed before he became a public officer, for he sought not for patronage, and abhorred intrigue. At length, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1581, Elizabeth appointed him her Solicitor-General, and he remained in that office, without further promotion, till the second of June, 1594, when he was placed in that of Attorney. On the tenth of April, 1596, he was raised to the place of Master of the Rolls, and on the sixth of the following month to that of Lord Keeper, on the sudden death of Sir John Puckering.

We have many testimonies that he owed this elevation to the Queen's sole favour, and that it was beheld by the people with the highest approbation. In a letter to the Earl of Essex, printed in Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, the writer, a Mr. Reynolds, says, "the Master of the Rolls has changed his style, and is made Lord Keeper, only by her Majesty's gracious favour and by her own choice. I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman:" and in another, from Anthony Bacon to a friend at Venice, Mr. Bacon, having spoken

of the death of the Lord Keeper, adds—" into whose place, with an extraordinary speed, her Majesty hath, ex proprio motu, et speciali gratiâ, advanced Sir Thomas Egerton, with a general applause, both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely, without competitor or mediator ; yea, against the desire and endeavour, as it is thought, of the omnipotent couple ;" meaning, no doubt, the Cecils, father and son. Camden too, in his history of that year, says, " Puckering's place was supplied by Thomas Egerton, the Attorney General, of whose fair and equal deportment every one had conceived mighty hopes and expectations."

Nature, which had endowed him with all the grand principles whereon to form a statesman, had given him also dispositions which tended to render him unfit for that character. His perfect integrity, and the frank simplicity of his mind and heart, were ill suited to the practice of those artifices and frauds which exalt the fame of the politician while they ought to degrade that of the man. We hear little of him therefore in diplomatic negotiations, although it was the fashion of his time to entrust them mostly to eminent lawyers. He was a Commissioner in 1598 for treating with the United Provinces, chiefly on the subject of their debts to England ; again in 1600, for the arrangement of some affairs with Denmark ; and once more, towards the conclusion of his life, for the surrendering the cautionary towns into the hands of the States General. It is probable, however, that he was literally the keeper of the Queen's conscience, and that such of her affairs as could be submitted to the regulation of unmixed wisdom and honour were directed solely by his advice. Strictly of that nature was the mediation which Elizabeth secretly intrusted to him, by which she vainly sought to shield the amiable and frantic Essex against his own rage. The Lord Keeper and Essex lived in the strictest friendship and confidence. Their dispositions, to common observers, seemed to be dissimilar almost to opposition, but the

perfect honesty of their hearts, that sublime principle, compared to which the petty differences of character among men will be found to be little more than habits, had bound them in a firm union. "They love and join very honourably together," says Anthony Bacon, in another of his letters; "out of which correspondency, and noble conjunction, betwixt Mars and Pallas; betwixt justice and valour; I mean betwixt so admirable a nobleman as the Earl, and so worthy a justice as the Lord Keeper; I doubt not but very famous effects will daily spring, to her Majesty's honour, the good of the state, and the comfort of both their lordship's particular true friends." The unhappy circumstances which prevented those results form an interesting feature of our history, and have always been well known; but the kind and wise endeavours of Egerton to cool the fever of his friend's mind; to bring Essex to a just sense of his duty, and the Queen to a dispassionate consideration of his merits and infirmities; have been developed chiefly by the publication in Birch's memoirs of the correspondence which passed between them while Essex was smarting under the blow which he had received from the hand of Elizabeth. His subsequent submission has been ascribed to the arguments, at once mild and firm, of the Lord Keeper. On his hasty and imprudent return in the following year from his unfortunate campaign in Ireland, when it was judged necessary to restrain him from the seditious society into which he had thrown himself, he was committed to the hospitable custody of the same friend, in whose house he remained in an honourable captivity for more than six months. When the charges against him were there examined by a committee of the Privy Council, the Lord Keeper sat as president, and again earnestly endeavoured to save him; and, finally, submitted, with a patience and magnanimity equal to Essex's madness, to the indignity and danger of being locked up by that nobleman in Essex House, which he had visited unprotected, with conciliatory proposals from the Queen, exposed to the fury of an infatuated mob, by which his life was every

moment threatened. Their friendship was terminated but by the stroke under which the Earl soon after fell on the scaffold.

The accession of James brought him an increase of favour. On the third of May, 1603, he met the King at Broxborne, in Herts; tendered his resignation of the Great Seal; and was, with the most flattering expressions, commanded to retain it. On the nineteenth of July following, James, not by the customary warrant, but by a notice, as is said, in his own hand writing, bestowed on him the title of Baron Ellesmere, "for his good and faithful services, not only in the administration of justice, but also in council, to the late Queen, and to himself." His patent for that honour was dated on the twenty-first of the same month, and on the twenty-fourth his great office was dignified by the more splendid style of Lord High Chancellor. Towards the end of that year he presided at the trials of the Lords Cobham and Grey, and in the next was one of the Commissioners for the union of Scotland to England, which was then ineffectually attempted. In 1605 he was appointed High Steward of the city, and in 1610 elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in which character he opposed his authority, with an earnest but well-tempered zeal, and with the strictest impartiality, against the popish and puritan parties which in his time had attained to a great, though unequal, ascendancy in that body. The Church of England never had a truer son, nor learning a more earnest friend; those therefore who rose by his means were generally as much distinguished by their orthodoxy as by their erudition. Among the many who shared his favour the most remarkable were Bacon and Williams, the one selected from the law, the other from the church, and each of these filled at length the exalted seat which had been so long and so worthily held by their venerable patron. Bacon, indeed, was his immediate successor—a philosopher but in a narrow sense of the word, he had pressed, it is lamentable to say, with a disgusting and unfeeling eagerness for the Seal long before the death of his benefactor. The fortunes of Williams were not yet

sufficiently ripe to enable him to tread on the heels of his illustrious friend. He was the Chancellor's chosen intimate and companion; lived in his house, and was his chaplain, being the first who had served any Chancellor in that capacity since the reformation. He succeeded to Bacon in the custody of the Seal, and became afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and, finally, Archbishop of York.

The peace of Lord Ellesmere's latter days was somewhat clouded by an attack on the jurisdiction of his Court, which was indirectly encouraged by the great Chief Justice Coke, rather, as it should seem, from a natural turbulence, and busy restlessness of temper, than from any particular impression of malice or envy. The cause, progress, and termination, of this difference are narrated by Arthur Wilson, in his Life of James, with a clearness and conciseness which no alteration could amend. I shall therefore give his account in his own words.

"A little before this time" (in the autumn of 1615) "there was a breach between the Lord Chief Justice Coke and the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir Edward Coke had heard and determined a cause at the common law, and some report there was juggling in the business. The witness that knew, and should have related, the truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his non-appearance. A pragmatical fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witness to a tavern; called for a gallon pot full of sack; bade him drink; and so, leaving him, went into the Court. This witness is called for, as the prop of the cause. The undertaker answers, upon oath, that he left him 'in such a condition that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour he is a dead man.' This, evidencing the man's incapability to come, deaded the matter so that it lost the cause. The plaintiffs, that had the injury, bring the business about in chancery. The defendants, having had judgment at common law, refuse to obey the orders of the court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the court, commits them to prison: They petition

against him in the Star Chamber: The Lord Chief Justice joins with them; foments the difference; threatening the Chancellor with a præmunire: the Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the business, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon, his Attorney General; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at law; and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Solicitor; commanding them to search what presidents there have been of late years wherein such as complained in Chancery were relieved, according to equity and conscience, after judgment at common law. These, being men well versed in their profession, after canvassing the matter thoroughly, returned answer to the King that there had been a strong current of practice and proceeding in Chancery after judgment in common law, and, many times, after execution, continued since Henry the seventh's time to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the reigns, seriatim, of the several Kings, and the times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the law; it being in cases where there is no remedy for the subject by the strict course of the common law, unto which the judges are sworn. This," continues Wilson, " satisfied the King; justified the Lord Chancellor; and the Chief Justice received the foil, which was a bitter potion to his spirit."

A larger account of this memorable dispute may be found in a very long letter to the King from Sir Francis Bacon, which is printed in the general collection of his works, and elsewhere. The dexterity with which he avoids giving any decided opinion on a question of law on which James had undoubtedly called for his advice, and the flattery which he indirectly lavishes on that Prince's ruling foible, render it a singular curiosity: of the latter the following passage will be a sufficient specimen. " Two things I wish to be done: the one, that your Majesty take this occasion to redouble unto all your judges your ancient and true charge of rule, that you will endure no innovating the point of jurisdiction, but will have every court impaled within their own precedents,

and not assume to themselves new powers, upon conceits and inventions of law: the other, that in these high causes that touch upon state and monarchy, your Majesty give them strait charge that, upon any occasions intervenial hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to their contestations, by publickly handling them before they have consulted with your Majesty, to whom the reglement of those things only appertaineth." The matter terminated in Coke's utter disgrace. On the third of June, 1616, a commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the Council, to enquire who were the authors of calling the Chancellor into question of præmunire; and, on the third of the following October, he was cited, says Camden, in his Annals of King James, before the Chancellor; dismissed from his office of Chief Justice; banished Westminster Hall; and, further, ordered to answer some matters contained in his Reports. The truth is that James the more readily sided with the Chancellor in this affair because Coke had of late spoken too freely of the prerogative. He had said publickly in his court, glancing at some recent instance of royal interference, that "the common law of England would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured." The puisne judges also had indulged in the use of similar censures on different occasions, and the King now summoned them to his presence; reprimanded them severely: and required them to crave his pardon on their knees, to which all of them submitted except the Chief Justice, who stedfastly refused. It is but candid to confess that this humiliation was exacted with the Chancellor's concurrence, and was performed in his presence.

Lord Ellesmere, who had attained to the age of seventy-six, lay in a state of extreme illness during the heat of this contest. The flattering prospect however of its issue seems to have revived him, and, on the twenty-fourth of May he presided as Lord High Steward on the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. It has been said that he positively refused to affix the Seal to the pardon so unjustly granted

to them by James; but it is scarcely credible that he who could advise, or at least silently witness, so undue an exertion of the royal prerogative as has been just now mentioned, would have resisted, as it were in the same hour, that exercise of it which has been in all ages implicitly allowed. Soon after this period he rapidly declined. In the autumn of 1616 he solicited James, by an affecting letter, to accept his resignation, which being kindly refused, he repeated his request by a second. The King and Prince flattered him by intreaties to retain his office, and, on the seventh of November in that year, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Brackley. At length, on the third of the following March, James, in a visit to him on his death bed, received the Seal from his hand with tears. He survived only till the fifteenth, when, half an hour before his departure, Sir Francis Bacon, the new Lord Keeper, waited on him to notify the King's intention to create him Earl of Bridgwater. He was buried at Dodleston, in Cheshire.

It may not be too much to say that for purity of reputation this great man's character stands distinguished from those of all other public ministers of this country in all ages; while for wisdom in council, profound knowledge of the laws, and general learning, he has seldom been excelled. Hacket, in his life of Archbishop Williams, says that he was a man "qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit," for his domestic life was as exemplary as his public conduct. His attention to the extrajudicial duties of his high office was not less sedulous and constant than to the causes in his court. In a speech at the conference of divines at Hampton Court in 1603-4, he uttered these expressions, which deserve to be recorded in letters of gold. "Livings rather want learned men than learned men livings, many in the Universities pining for want of places. I wish therefore some may have single coats before others have doublets; and this method I have observed in bestowing the King's benefices." We have three professional tracts from his pen in print—His speech in the

Exchequer Chamber in the case of Colvil of Culross, usually called the case of the Postnati, published in 1609: "The Privileges and Prerogatives of the High Court of Chancery," in 1641: and "Certain Observations concerning the Office of Lord Chancellor," in 1651. But his great work, if it yet exists, remains in manuscript—four treatises on the High Court of Parliament; the Court of Chancery; the Starchamber; and the Council board. These, in his last hours, he gave to his chaplain, Williams, who some years after presented them to the King. He was thrice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, in the county of Flint, by whom he had two sons and one daughter; Sir Thomas Egerton, who served bravely under the Earl of Essex at Cadiz, and afterwards in Ireland, where he died unmarried; John, who succeeded his father, and was, within a few weeks after his death, created Earl of Bridgewater; and Mary, wife of Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham Regis, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath. The Chancellor married secondly Elizabeth, sister to Sir George More, of Loseley, in Surrey, widow of Sir John Wolley, of Pitford, in the same county; and, thirdly, Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, and widow of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby; but had no issue by either.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

OB. 1618.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

London, Published July 1, 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The history of Raleigh has always been an object of anxious and busy enquiry, and the pains that have been taken to render it complete seem to have been rewarded with the most ample success. This will ever be the case with one who moved in so many spheres of action, and shone so brightly in such various classes of fame. The soldier will cherish the reputation of heroes; the critic, of writers; the politician, of statesmen; but in this individuality of attention, in this unconscious singleness of fellow feeling, how many inestimable notices of general character are overlooked, and irrecoverably lost! The life of Raleigh, on the other hand, was a sort of public property, in which every taste and every profession had an interest, and each therefore has lent a helping hand to raise and perfect the biographical monument which has been erected to his memory. To endeavour to add to such a story would be hopeless labour: to select from it can be little better than dull repetition.

Raleigh was descended from a family of high antiquity in Devonshire. He was a younger son of a gentleman of his names who was seated in a mansion called Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth, by his third wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, and widow of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, all which parishes are in that county. He was born in 1552, and exactly well educated, first under the care of his father, and afterwards in Oriel College, of which he was entered at about the age of sixteen, and which he left, though his residence there had little exceeded one year, with a high reputation for academical attainments. In the autumn of 1569 he entered into public life in the character of a soldier, in a troop of

a hundred gentlemen volunteers, raised by his relation Henry Champernoun, which attached itself to the expedition then fitted out by the order of Elizabeth for the succour of the Huguenots in France. In this service, which was of the most arduous character, he remained for not less than five years, and is supposed to have returned in 1576, in which year it is evident that he resided in chambers in the Middle Temple, a circumstance which has given occasion to some contest among his biographers which might have been effectually set at rest by reference to his trial, on which he took occasion expressly to declare that he had never studied the law. He remained however not long inactive, for in 1577 he made a campaign in the Low Countries under the command of Norris, and in the following year, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of the celebrated navigators of that day, who was his uterine brother, having obtained a patent from the Queen to colonize in North America, Raleigh embarked with him in that expedition. It proved unsuccessful. They were met on their voyage by a Spanish fleet of superior force, and defeated, and Raleigh, returning just at the period when a new insurrection, aided by the intrigues and the troops of Spain, had broken out in Ireland, flew to the scene of action, and now proved that he possessed, in addition to the personal bravery for which he was already distinguished, all other qualifications for a military commander. The government of Munster, a post then of the greatest importance, was intrusted to him, jointly with two old officers of established fame; a few months after he was appointed Governor of Cork; and these were his first public employments.

The Irish insurgents having been for the time reduced, he arrived in England towards the end of the year 1581, to seek preferment at the Court. It has been said that he first attracted Elizabeth's notice by a singular sort of compliment: that happening to be near her when she was walking abroad, and met with a marshy spot which she hesitated whether to pass over, he stepped suddenly forward, and taking off his velvet cloak, spread it

on the place for her to tread on. The same light authorities inform us that, shortly after he had thus introduced himself, he wrote with a diamond on a window in one of her private apartments, " Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;" which coming to her knowledge, she wrote under it, " If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all." Such gallantries were neither inconsistent with the fashion of the time, nor with Elizabeth's taste: whether they really occurred or not, it is certain that she now took him in some measure under her protection; and indeed he possessed all the requisites to captivate her weakness, as well as her deliberate opinion. " He had," says Sir Robert Naunton, " in the outward man a good presence, and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers, both of men and the times." These powers he found an opportunity soon after of bringing into action with the happiest effect, on the occasion of a difference which, having occurred during his service in Ireland between himself and the Deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, had been referred by a Council of War in that country to the Privy Council of England before which it was heard in the spring of 1583. " I am somewhat confident," adds Naunton, " among the second causes of his growth was the variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the Council Table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy I know not, but he had much the better in the telling of his tale; insomuch as the Queen and the Lords took no slight mark of the man, and his parts: for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Lords, and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply, and learn the way of progression. And whether or no

my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I do not determine; but true it is he had gotten the Queen's ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands; and the truth is she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea, those that he relied on began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his."

Whether it was with the view in one who seems not to have abounded in prudence of avoiding these jealousies, or to gratify an inclination to project and enterprise which certainly belonged to his nature, it is now perhaps too late to learn, but Raleigh, in this moment of triumphant favour, and for several succeeding years, seems to have devoted his serious attention exclusively to maritime discovery and speculation. In 1583 he sailed towards Newfoundland, as Vice Admiral of a fleet of four ships, commanded by his brother Gilbert, one of which he had manned and victualled at his own charge, and named after himself. The expedition was most unfortunate; and Gilbert, with two of his ships, was lost in returning to England; yet in the following year Raleigh laid a plan before the Queen and Council for another, and, by a grant, dated the twenty-fifth of March, 1584, was allowed "free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christian, nor inhabited by Christian people." He now fitted out two ships for the Gulf of Florida, and the fruit of the voyage was the discovery of Virginia, which is well known to have then received its name from Elizabeth, and where, at his recommendation, she consented to the planting of an English colony, which in the spring of the following year was dispatched thither under his direction in a fleet of seven sail, commanded by his kinsman, Sir Richard Granville, who on his return captured a Spanish ship worth fifty thousand pounds. Even during this voyage he was actively engaged with Sir Adrian Gilbert, another of his half brothers, in an

enterprise to explore the north-west passage, in which those straits which have been denominated from Davis, the ill-fated commander, were first penetrated. In 1586 he fitted out another squadron to Virginia; sent two ships to cruise against the Spaniards, which returned with considerable wealth; and joined George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in a less successful adventure to the South Seas. In 1587, he was still anxiously engaged in the establishment of the new colony, his interests in which he soon after assigned, with certain reservations, to several merchants of London; in the succeeding year distinguished himself in the great overthrow of the Spanish Armada; and in 1589 sailed with Norris and Drake to Portugal on the expedition then undertaken to restore Don Antonio to the throne of that country.

While he was thus engaged, favours and distinctions, whether he courted them or not, were lavishly showered on him. In 1584 he obtained the then envied honour of knighthood; was elected to serve in Parliament for his native county, as he was afterwards for Cornwall; and received in that year a patent for licensing the sale of wines throughout the nation, and in the next a grant of twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford. In 1586 he was appointed Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and, a few months after, Captain, that is to say Commander, of the Queen's guard. Great estates in the western counties were afterwards bestowed on him by Elizabeth, particularly the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where he built, says Coker, in his Survey of that County, "in a park adjoining to the Castle, out of the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of much variety and delight." In the mean time his public and private conduct seem to have been marked by the most perfect independence: he neither led nor served any party; nor do we discover a single instance of his having used that influence which he certainly possessed over the affections of Elizabeth to any unworthy end, nor of his having endeavoured

to increase, or even to maintain it by adulation or servile compliance. On the contrary, his professions, and indeed his practices, were not unfrequently in opposition to her religious or political notions. In receding contemptuously from the ridiculous complexities of school divinity, he is said to have fallen into contrary errors, and to have become a sceptic, if not a deist. The Queen reasoned with him on these subjects, and censured his opinions with sharpness, but he disdained to disavow them. He defended the learned puritan Udal, who had libelled the Hierarchy with the most virulent bitterness, and, when that minister was therefore condemned for high treason, interfered successfully to save his life. His interest seems indeed to have been continually exerted in the service of others, and we are told that Elizabeth once said to him, alluding to the frequency of such his requests, "When, Sir Walter, will you cease to be a beggar?" to which he answered, "When your Majesty shall cease to be beneficent."

In 1592 he sailed again on an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, with a strong force, raised by himself and others, to which Elizabeth added two of her best ships of war. It was prevented by storms from reaching its destination, and he returned, but his shattered fleet after his departure captured a Portuguese carrack, said to have been the richest prize that had ever been brought to England. The discovery of his amour with Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's maids of honour, occurred just at this period, an offence, which, though he made the best atonement in his power by marrying the lady, Elizabeth punished by imprisoning them in the Tower for many months. It should seem that this severity was dictated rather by prudence, and a sense of propriety, than by resentment, for he certainly received eminent proofs of the Queen's favour immediately after his liberation, yet it is held by several writers that the umbrage into which he fell on this occasion determined him once more to quit England, while others,

with perhaps as little reason, ascribe that resolution to the envy and jealousy by which he was assailed at home. It is highly probable that his motive was simply the acquisition of wealth to support his enormous expenses, for no man of his time surpassed him in magnificence. He tilted in silver armour, wearing a sword and belt set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls; appeared at Court on solemn occasions, covered with jewels, nearly to the value of seventy thousand pounds; and his retinue and table were maintained with proportionate splendour. It is in perfect agreement with a just notion of Raleigh's character to suppose that he wished to owe these luxuries to his own exertions, and his choice of the country to which he now directed his speculations tends in no small degree to favour that conjecture.

He had long contemplated the full discovery of Guiana, in South America, and in the spring of 1594 dispatched a trusty person thither, on whose favourable report he sailed in the following February, and returning in August 1595, described to Elizabeth in the most glowing colours the inexhaustible riches of the soil, on which he besought her to plant a colony. She refused, but to console him for the disappointment, named him Admiral in the expedition of the next year, which ended in the capture of Cadiz, and also in that of the summer of 1597, which is so largely treated of by most of our historians, under the name of the Island Voyage. In both those enterprises Essex had the chief command, and it was in the latter that an unhappy discord arose between these great men, which perhaps accelerated the fall of the one, and was certainly pregnant with the more distant fate of the other. It was clear that the success of the plan had been sacrificed to their envious rivalry, and their misconduct was discussed at home with unusual freedom. They returned, overflowing with mutual reproaches, to the disgraceful consolations usually sought by men so circumstanced; Essex to become the leader of a senseless mob, and Raleigh to resign his independence into the hands of a minister of state. Tempted by views of gratifying his

resentment, this great man became a dupe to the artifices of Cecil, who cherished him for the hour as a willing instrument to thwart the ambition, and undermine the favour, of Essex. Of his willingness we have indeed subsequently too frightful a proof in a letter that has been more than once printed, written by him to the Secretary after Essex had been made prisoner, from which, amidst some ambiguity of expression, it may be inferred that he thirsted for the blood of that unhappy favourite. Raleigh was now flattered by moderate favours, and cajoled by splendid hopes. The management in the House of Commons of affairs in which the Crown was peculiarly interested seems to have been committed chiefly to him during the remainder of this reign: He obtained in 1598 a grant of the pre-emption of Cornish tin, a privilege of great lucre; was sent Ambassador to Flanders, with Lord Cobham, in the summer of 1600; and in the autumn of that year was appointed Governor of Jersey. Meanwhile he was fallaciously encouraged to expect the great and arduous post of Deputy of Ireland, and the dignity of a Baron.

But Cecil's sole purpose was at length accomplished. Essex had been finally disposed of, and Raleigh in his turn became an object of jealousy and fear. His fortune now hung on the slender thread that supported the life of Elizabeth, for he was too firmly fixed in her favour to be shaken by any effort of malice or intrigue while he remained her servant; but Cecil had not neglected to infuse bitter prejudices against him into the mean and timid mind of her successor, who on mounting the throne received him with coolness, and soon after dismissed him from his employments. Raleigh, in searching for the motives to this indignity, detected the wicked baseness of the Secretary, and, in the first moments of a generous irritation, presented a memorial against him to the King, in which, among many other heavy accusations, he denounced Cecil as a main instrument in causing the death of the unfortunate Mary. The intelligence was received by James with indifference, but it naturally changed the

aversion of Cecil into the deepest hatred; while Raleigh, deceived, persecuted, and threatened, by the minister, and neglected by the King, threw himself into the arms of a small party, headed by two noblemen, distinguished only by their bitterness against James and his countrymen. With these, Brook, Lord Cobham, and Thomas Lord Grey de Wilton, he certainly in some measure engaged in that conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, the singular extravagancy of which is familiar to all readers of English history, but how far short his offence fell of treason, his trial, which took place at Winchester, on the seventeenth of November, 1603, will abundantly prove. The utter deficiency of evidence in support of the charge; the courage, candour, and ready wit and judgement displayed by himself; and the brutal speeches of Coke, the Attorney General; combine to render that document a record of one of the most curious and interesting juridical processes on record. He was however found guilty by a jury more barbarous even than his prosecutors, for when the verdict was communicated to Coke, who happened not to be in the court when it was delivered, he exclaimed to the messenger, "surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but of misprision of treason." He received sentence, and remained at Winchester in daily expectation of death for about a month, during which he appealed to James's mercy, and on the fifteenth of December received a reprieve, and was removed to the Tower, where he continued a prisoner for twelve years. There it is well known that he became an historian, a philosopher, and a poet, and raised a fame for almost universal science equal to his former reputation for arms and enterprize. The severity of his imprisonment was from time to time slackened, and on the twenty-fifth of March, 1616, he was at length released, on the intercession of the new favourite Villiers, some of whose retainers had been bribed by a large sum to move their master to that end. Stripped of his estates by attainder, the sport of his enemies, and timidly abandoned by his friends, nothing now remained to this great man but

his admirable powers of mind and body, and that spirit of boundless activity which had ever distinguished both, and which the severity of his fortune had left wholly unimpaired. He was no sooner at large than he undertook a new voyage to Guiana, and James, tempted by the prospect of boundless wealth, readily granted him on the twenty-sixth of August following, a commission, under the Great Seal, of Admiral. Raleigh, rendered cautious by injustice and calamity, was desirous to obtain a specific pardon before his departure, and consulted his friend Bacon, then Lord Keeper, who fatally assured him that his commission might always be pleaded fully to that effect. After long preparation, and an expense of more than ten thousand pounds, collected with the utmost difficulty, he sailed on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617. Treachery and cowardice combined to blast, together with the views of his expedition, all his future hopes. Through the vigilance and artifice of Gondamor, Ambassador from Madrid, and the base pusillanimity of James, his design was betrayed to the Spaniards at Guiana before his arrival, and he found a superior force in full array to receive him. He attempted to force a passage, and was defeated. "Never," says he, in a narrative which he published after his return, "was poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was: for, being commanded by my allegiance to set down not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it; to name my ship's number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his master, the King of Spain:" nor was this the partial complaint of a disappointed and enraged commander, for the history of that time abounds in evidences of the justice of his charge. In this unhappy warfare his eldest son fell, bravely fighting. The news of his discomfiture reached London, and the terrified James instantly issued a proclamation, declaring that he had in his original orders to Raleigh, expressly prohibited any act of hostility against the Spaniards, and threatening a severe punishment. Raleigh arrived at Plymouth a few days after; was arrested on his road to London;

and, after two attempts to escape, was, on the tenth of August, once more closely imprisoned in the Tower. It is unnecessary to stain these pages with a detail of the monstrous perversions of law, and justice, and humanity, under the pretext of which the blood of this admirable person was shed, for it may be found in every general history of his country. After the solemn mockery of a conference held by all the Judges, he was, on the twenty-eighth of October, brought to the King's Bench bar, and required to say why execution of the sentence passed on him fifteen years before should not now be awarded; defended himself with a vigour of argument and beauty of eloquence, which astonished all who heard him; and was the next day, under the authority of a special warrant signed by the King, beheaded in Old Palace Yard, Westminster.

To give an ample and correct view of the infinitely diversified character of Raleigh would double the extent of these pages. A general idea of the wonderful powers which distinguished it may perhaps be best conveyed by a few words of Anthony Wood, delivered with his usual conciseness and simplicity. "Authors are perplexed," says Wood, "under what topic to place him; whether of statesman, seaman, soldier, chemist, or chronologer, for in all these he did excel; and it still remains a dispute whether the age he lived in was more obliged to his pen or his sword, the one being busy in conquering the new, the other in so bravely describing the old world. The truth is, he was unfortunate in nothing else but the greatness of his wit and advancement. His eminent worth was such, both in domestic polity, foreign expeditions and discoveries, arts and literature, both practive and contemplative, that they seemed at once to conquer both example and imitation. Those that knew him well esteemed him to be a person born to that only which he went about, so dexterous was he in all or most of his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen." For an estimate of the profound learning and exquisite genius which he displayed in various

branches of literature, let me appeal to a few pages prefixed to a very late publication of his scattered poems, in which the strictest truth of criticism is adorned by the utmost force and beauty of expression. On the whole, it is not too much to say that Raleigh was the most eminent man of the age in which he lived; an age enlightened by his talents, and perhaps improved by his example, for he descended to the grave with an exactness of moral reputation, not only unstained, but, with the single exception lately referred to, wholly unsuspected.

The printed productions of his pen which we have the good fortune to possess, for some of his works remain yet unpublished, are his celebrated History of the World—A Relation of the Discovery of Guiana, presented to Queen Elizabeth—Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom in 1588—The Prerogative of Parliament in England, proved in a dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace—Instructions to his Son, and posterity—The History of Mahomet—The Prince, or Maxims of State, republished, with the title of "Aphorisms of State"—The Sceptic, or Speculations—Observations on the Magnificence and Opulency of Cities—The State of Government—Letters to the King, and others of Quality—A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant—Observations on the Inventions of Shipping, and Sea Service—Apology for his last Voyage to Guiana—Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders—The Cabinet Council, containing the Chief Arts and Mysteries of State—An Historical and Geographical Description of the Great Country and River of the Amazons—Wars with Foreign Princes dangerous to our Commonwealth, or Reasons for Foreign Wars answered—Speeches and Arguments in several Parliaments towards the end of Elizabeth's reign—The Son's Advice to His Father—and the Collection of his poetical pieces lately referred to. Most of the smaller tracts here mentioned were collected by Dr. Birch, and republished in 1751, in two volumes.

Sir Walter Raleigh, as has been already said, married Elizabeth

a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, alias Carew, of Beddington, in Surrey. He had by her two sons; Walter, unmarried, who was killed, as has been already said, by the Spaniards in South America; and Carew. As the subsequent issue of Raleigh has, I believe, never yet been publicly noticed, some extended account of it here may be desirable. Carew married Philippa, daughter of . . . . . Weston, and relict of Sir Anthony Ashley. By that lady he had three daughters, of whom Elizabeth and Mary died spinsters, and Anne, the youngest, became the wife of Sir Peter Tyrrel, of Castlethorpe, in Bucks; and two sons, of whom Walter, the elder, who was seated at West Horsley, in Surrey, an estate which had been purchased by his father, and was knighted soon after the restoration, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Rogers of Sandwell, in Gloucestershire, and left by her three daughters, his coheirs; Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Elwes, Knt.; Philippa, of Oliver Wicks, of Tortington, in Sussex; and Anne, married to William Knight, of Barrels, in the County of Warwick. Philip, the second son of Carew Raleigh, whom I find styled of London, and of Tenchley Meer, in Surrey, married Frances, daughter of a Mr. Granville, of Foscot in Buckinghamshire, and had by her four sons, Walter, Brudenel, Granville, and Carew, and three daughters; Frances, Anne, and Elizabeth. Most of them were living in 1695, in which year all the daughters were unmarried. At that period our intelligence ceases.

Engraved by W.T.Fry.

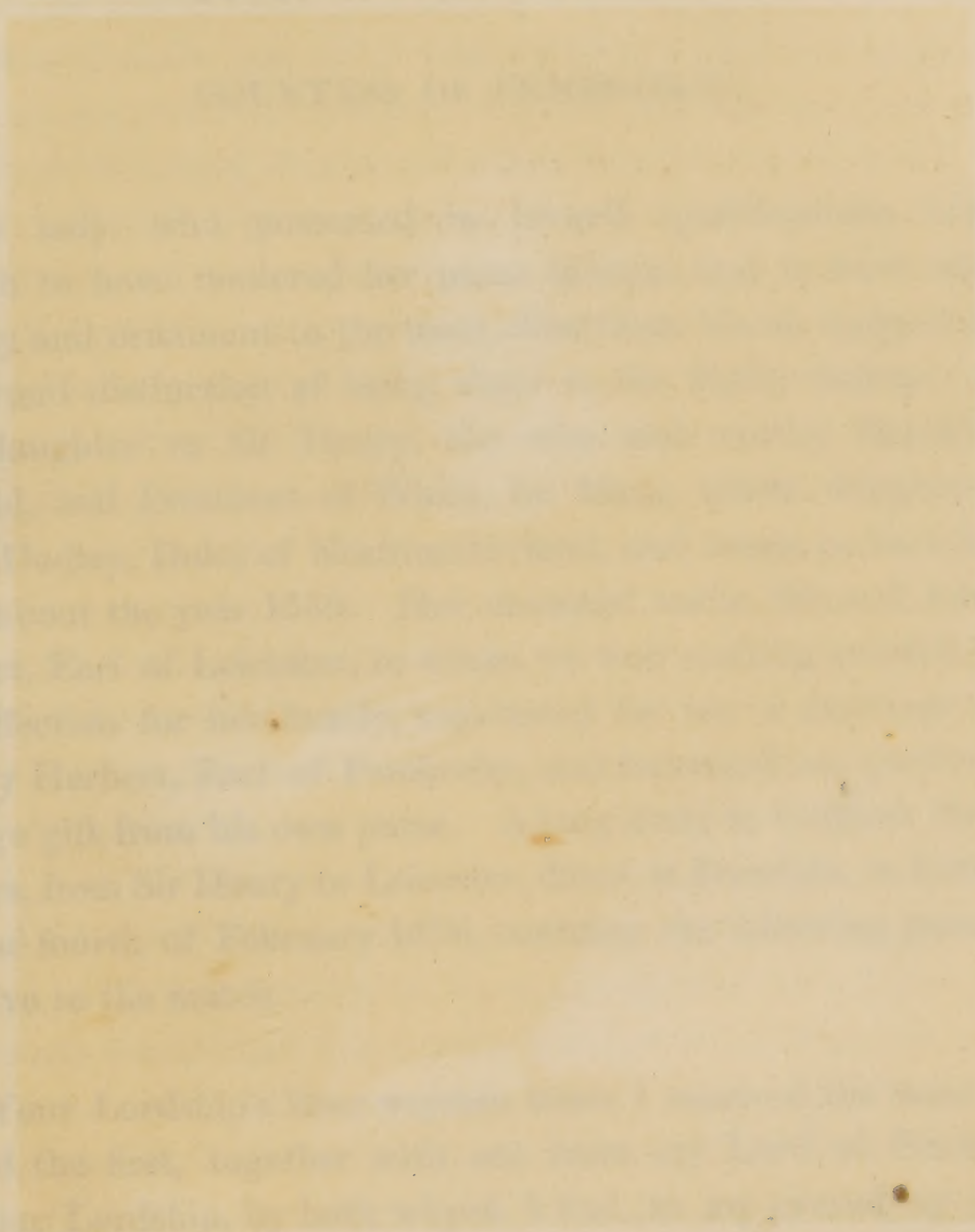
MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

OB. 1621.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERARDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY, BART.

London, Published June 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



MARY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

This lady, who possessed in herself qualifications bright enough to have rendered her name famous, and to have added dignity and ornament to the most illustrious blood, enjoyed also the proud distinction of being sister to Sir Philip Sidney. She was daughter to Sir Henry, the wise and worthy Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seems to have been born about the year 1550. Her maternal uncle, the well known Robert, Earl of Leicester, in whom we find nothing amiable, but his affection for her family, negotiated for her a marriage with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and increased her portion by a large gift from his own purse. A long letter in Collins's Sidney Papers, from Sir Henry to Leicester, dated at Dundalk, in Ireland, on the fourth of February 1576, contains the following passages relative to the match.

" Your Lordship's later wrytten letter I received the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my Lord of Penbroke to your Lordship, by both whych I find, to my exceedyng great comfort, the lykeleod of a maryage betwyne his Lordshyp and my doghter, whych great honor to me, my mean lynuage and kyn, I attrybute to my match in your noble House, for which I acknoleg myself bound to honor and sarve the same to the uttermost of my power: Yea, so joyfully have I at hart that my dere chyldy's is so happy an advancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryson rather than yt should breake. But alas, my derest Lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer.

I am poore. Myne estate, as well in lyvelod and moveable, is not unknown to your Lordshyp, whych wanteth mutch to make me able to equal that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbroke may have. Twoo thousand £ I confes I have bequeathed her, whych your Lordship knoweth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyvying; and in troth, my Lord, I have yt not, but borro yt I must, and so I will; and, if your Lordshypp wyll get me leave, that I may feede my eyes wyth that joyfull sight of thear couplyng, I wyll gyve her a cup worth fyve hundreth £. Good my Lord, bear wyth my poverty; for, if I had it, lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wyllyngly would gyve it; protestyng before the Almighty God, that if he, and all the powers on earth, would geve me my choyce for a husband for her, I would choose the Earl of Penbroke. I wryte to my Lord of Penbroke, whych hearwyth I send your Lordshyp; and thus I end in answering your most welcom and honorable letter with my harty prayer to Almyghty God to perfect your Lordshypp's good good work, and to requyte you for the same for I am not able."

Within a few weeks after the date of this letter she became wife to the Earl, who had been twice before married.

She seems to have regarded with equal indifference the magnificence of Elizabeth's, and the intrigues of James's courts, and to have devoted herself wholly to the exercise of private virtues, and the retired enjoyment of literary leisure. With regard to such characters the absence of detraction is sufficient evidence of moral merit, for in her time the practice of domestic duties by her sex was too universal to challenge particular praise, and it is the conduct of the worthless therefore that has been chiefly recorded. She had received the learned education which was then usually bestowed on women of her rank, but attained to a proficiency which had before been seldom reached by any. She has left the reputation of having been mistress even of the Hebrew

tongue, and a translation by her, from the original text, of several of the psalms, is said to remain, in manuscript, in the library at Wilton. Anthony Wood, and some others, it is true, have told us that she was assisted in it by Babington, who was the Earl's domestic chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester; but if it were so, the assertion will furnish no ground whereon to doubt that she understood the language; since no one who was not already known to possess a competent skill in it durst publicly to have assumed the credit of such a production. Dr. Donne, in one of his poems, speaks of these translations, and with more probability, as the joint work of this lady and her brother.

Possessing, with a powerful and masculine understanding, a considerable richness and variety of fancy, she fell almost naturally into the practice of poetical composition, of which she became passionately fond; but her prose, of which very few specimens remain, is better than her verse: more ornamented, and yet more graceful; more metaphorical, and yet more simple and intelligible. We have a remarkable example of this in the introduction to her translation from the French of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death. The following passage, in which a fine moral sentiment is clothed in such justness and diversity of thought, and delivered with so much force and elegancy of expression, is scarcely to be equalled among the works of the best prose writers of her time.

"It seems to me strange, and a thing much to be marveiled, that the laborer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, and with a joyfull crie salutes the descried land: that the traveller is never quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we, in the meane while, tied in this world to a perpetuall taske; tossed with continuall tempest; tyred with a rough and combersome way; yet cannot see the end of our labour but with griefe, nor behold our port but with teares, nor approach our home, and quiet abode, but with horrour and trembling.

This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing; a sea open to all winds, which, sometimes within sometimes without, never cease to torment us; a wearie journey through extreame heats and colds; over high mountaines, steepe rockes, and theevish deserts; and so we terme it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oare, in passing this miserable way. Yet loe, when death comes to end our worke; when she stretcheth out her armes to pull us into the port; when, after so many dangerous passages, and lothsome lodgings, she would conduct us to our true home and resting place; insteade of rejoycing at the end of our labour; of taking comfort at the sight of our land; of singing at the approch of our happie mansion; we would faine, who would beleeve it? retake our worke in hande; we would again hoise saile to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. No more then remember we our paines: our shipwracks and dangers are forgotten: we feare no more the travailes or the theeves: contrariwise, we apprehend death as an extreame paine; we doubt it as a rocke; we flie it as a thiefe; we do as little children, who all the day complaine, and when the medicine is brought them are no longer sicke; as they who all the weeke long runne up and downe the streetes with paine of the teeth, and, seeing the barber coming to pull them out, feele no more paine. We feare more the cure then the disease; the surgeon then the paine. We have more sense of the medicine's bitternesse, soone gone, then of a bitter languishing, long continued; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endlesse miserie of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish for that we ought to fear."

Her poems have never been collectively published, and many perhaps remain unknown among the anonymous pieces so frequent in the numerous miscellanies which appeared within a few years before and after her death. She wrote an Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which is printed in Spenser's Astrophel, and a Pastoral Dialogue, in praise of Astræa (Queen Elizabeth) which appears

in Davison's Poetical Rhapsody: the one unworthy of the subject, and of her affection: the other, remarkable chiefly for strange conceit, and coarse expression. A view of the four first stanzas will amply justify this censure, and the reader will not complain that the rest are omitted.

1.

T. I sing divine Astræa's praise.
O Muses, help my wits to raise,
And heave my verses higher.
P. Thou need's the truth but plainly tell,
Which much I doubt thou canst not well,
Thou art so great a liar.

2.

T. If in my song no more I shew
Than heaven and earth, and sea do know,
Then truly have I spoken.
P. Sufficeth not no more to name,
But being no less, the like the same;
Else laws of truth be broken.

3.

T. Then say she is so good, so fair,
With all the world she may compare,
Nor Momus' self denying.
P. Compare may think where likeness holds;
Nought like to her the earth enfolds:
I look'd to find you lying.

4.

T. Soon as Astræa shews her face
Strait every ill avoids the place,
And every good aboundeth.
P. Nay, long before her face doth shew,
The last doth come, the first doth go;
How loud this lye resoundeth.

She translated from the French the Tragedy of Antonius, and seems to have interwoven into it occasionally some verses of her own composition, but neither the play nor her additions deserve much consideration. Her longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion,

consisting of no less than one hundred and ten stanzas, a copy of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection, and exhibits little either of pious reflection, or historical circumstance. It is alternately bombastic and mean in expression: generally obscure, and frequently unintelligible; yet grand conceptions sometimes flash suddenly on us from this chaos. The following is one of the very few passages in the poem that can claim the praise of regularity, either of thought or diction. It abounds too in a sweet and graceful tenderness.

I saw him faultlesse, yet I did offend him.
I saw him wrong'd, and yet did not excuse him.
I saw his foes, yet sought not to defend him.
I had his blessinges, yet I did abuse him.
But was it myne, or my forefather's deede,
Whose'ere it was, it makes my hart to bleede.

To see the feete that travayled for our goode;
To see the hands that brake that livelye breade;
To see the heade whereon our honor stoode;
To see the fruite whereon our spyrite fedd—
Feete pearc'd, handes bored, and his heade all bleedinge—
Who doth not dye with such a sorrowe readinge?

He plac'd all rest, and had no restinge place:
He heal'd ech payne, yet liv'd in sore distresse:
Deserv'd all good, yet liv'd in greate disgrace:
Gave all hartes joy, himselfe in heavynesse:
Suffred them live by whome himself was slayne.
Lorde, who can live to see such love againe?

But who will undertake to dispel the more than Sybilline mystery which clouds the meaning of such lines as these?—

There is a lacke that tells me of a life.
There is a losse that tells me of a love.
Betwixt them both a state of such a strife
As makes my spyritt such a passion prove,
That lacke of one, and t'other's losse, alas!
Makes me the woefulst wretch that ever was.

The truth seems to be that Lady Pembroke, as a poet, was spoiled by adulation, and complimented into self conceit and carelessness. A tribe of small and hungry wits anticipated the efforts of her muse by extravagant praise, and received the fruits of them with affected rapture. Among these we find the names of Harvey, Daniel, France, Lock, Fitzgeffrey, Lanyer, Stradling, and Davies. One of them gravely declares that he will not name her, because he will not "dishonour with his pen her whom he cannot blazon enough;" and another calls himself the "Triton of her praise." Bards, however, of a higher class eulogized her in more temperate strains. Spenser designates her as—

> The gentlest shepherdess that liv'd that day,
> And most resembling, both in shape and spirit,
> Her brother dear;

and the severe and honest Jonson, in that inimitable tribute to her memory which, though already so often published, must be presently once more repeated, is, as well as Spenser, silent on the subject of her poetry. Even Sir Philip Sidney, who loved her to idolatry, and delighted to dwell on her merits, passes it over, I think, wholly unnoticed. It is well known that he dedicated to her his celebrated romance, which he wrote at her request, and entitled it therefore, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia."

She died, at her house in Aldersgate-street, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1621, having survived her lord for twenty years, and was buried with him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, leaving two sons, William, and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke. Ben Jonson has immortalized her name and his own by this epitaph, which it is strange should never have appeared on her tomb.

> "Underneath this marble hearse
> Lies the subject of all verse:
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:
> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Wise, and fair, and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

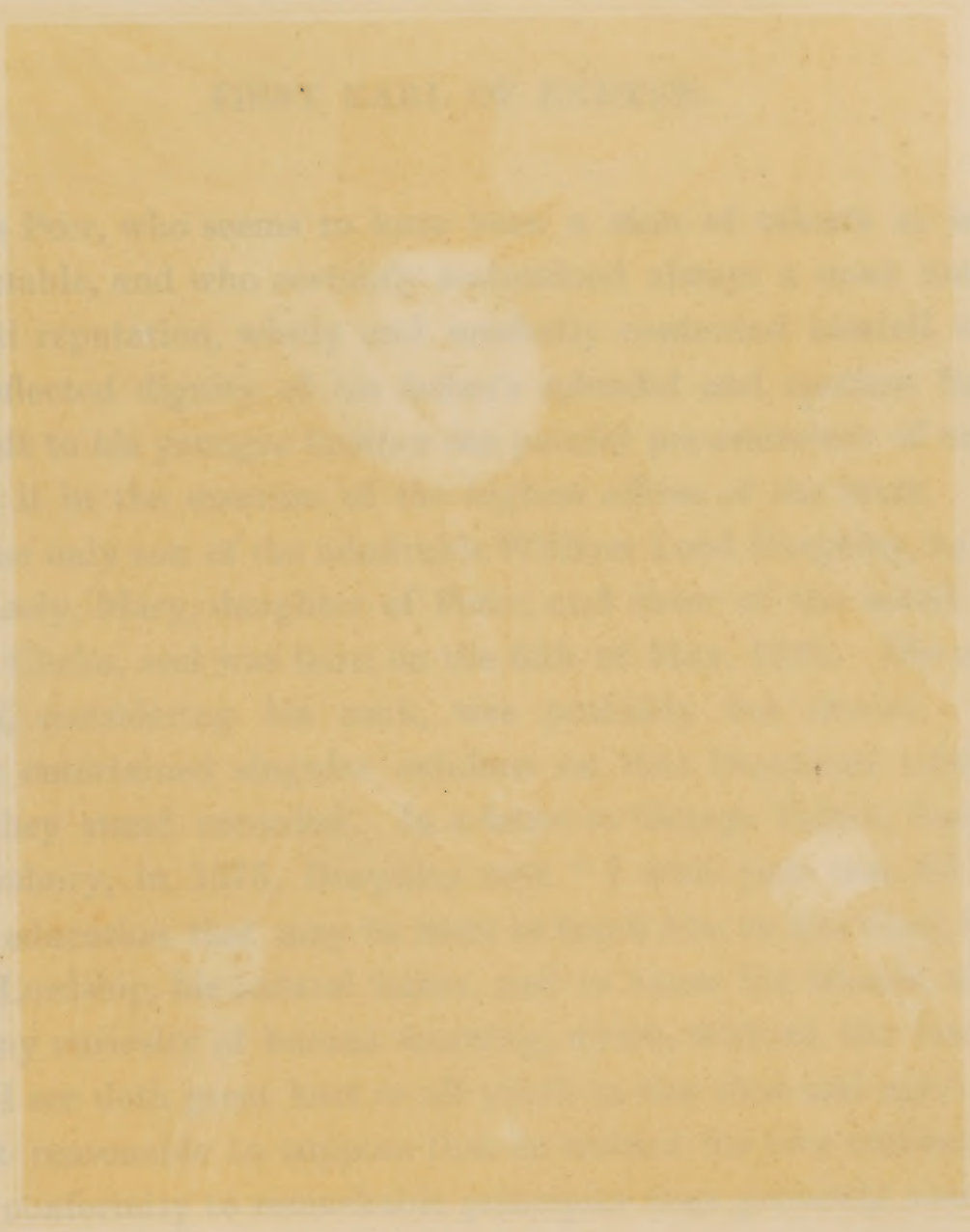
THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

OB. 1621.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER.

London, Published June 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS CECIL,

FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

This Peer, who seems to have been a man of talents at least respectable, and who certainly maintained always a most unblemished reputation, wisely and modestly contented himself with the reflected dignity of his father's splendid and spotless fame, and left to his younger brother the painful pre-eminence of emulating it in the exercise of the highest offices of the State. He was the only son of the admirable William Lord Burghley, by his first Lady, Mary, daughter of Peter, and sister of the noted Sir John, Cheke, and was born on the fifth of May, 1542. His education, considering his rank, was probably but decent. His father entertained singular opinions on that important subject, and they stand recorded. In a letter to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1575, Burghley says "I wish your son all the good education that may be meet to teach him to fear God, love your Lordship, his natural father, and to know his friends, without any curiosity of human learning, which, without the fear of God, I see doth great hurt to all youth in this time and age." It is but reasonable to suppose that he trained his own children in some conformity to remarkable principles thus privately avowed to a most confidential friend.

Be this as it might, his heir attached himself to a military life. He was however returned a burgess for the town of Stamford as soon as he had attained the age of twenty-one, and represented that borough in two future Parliaments, as he did afterwards repeatedly the counties of Lincoln and Northampton. In 1573 he was a volunteer in Sir William Drury's inroad into Scotland, and served with credit in the obstinate siege and reduction of

Edinburgh by which it was rendered remarkable. An original letter written by him to his father, immediately upon his return from that expedition, may be found in the Cotton MSS., and seems to deserve a place here, not only because it exhibits features somewhat characteristic of the writer, but for the mention of that remarkable person, Maitland of Lethington, who, on the failure of his suit here alluded to for Elizabeth's merciful intercession, shortly afterwards died by his own hand at Leith.

" My dewty unto y^r. Lordshipp most humbly remembrid, w^th. the like humble requeste of your dailye blessing boothe to me and myne, it may please yo^r. Lordshipp to understand that uppo~ my comming home, w^ch. was the vi^th. of this present, I fownde my grandmother newly come to remayne here at yo^r. Lordshipp's howse, whereof my wife & I doo take no small comforte. It hath pleased her to graunte for the bourding of hirselfe, hir two maydes, & hir man, hir tithe of St^t. Martin's, and the milke of tenne of hir kye at Burghley. Hir sight is almoste quite decayed, & withowt any hoope of recovery, so as necessitie hath most perswaded hir to beginne to give over the worlde, and so I trust the great quiettnes she shall receive therby wilbe an occasion of the prolonging of hir yeres."

" Uppon th' ending of the troubles of Scottland, I was in minde, withe the compagny of th' Imbassador to have done my reverence unto the yong King, so as by reason of his late dissease of the small pockes it was not thought a tyme convenient. The Rejeant's grace bestowed a hawke uppon me at my coming awaye, w^ch., for lacke of cariage, I lefte behinde me."

" It may please yo^r. Lordshipp, uppon my coming awaye, & after some tyme of discourse withe the Lorde Liddingto~, w^ch. onely tended to the assured hoope he repoosed in the Quene's Ma^tie's mercy, & yo^r. Lordshipp's good meane, he required me, w^th. his most humble com~endations, to recom~end this his letter w^ch. I send unto yo^r. Lordshipp, and to accompagny the same w^th. my good

reporte of himself, whoose life semith to be so deare unto him as I doo not mistruste butt he will promise inough; howsoever he meanith to perfourme it, and therfore I remayne doubtfull what reporte to make. The beste is he is oratour good inough for him selfe, and in that respect I leave him to be his own advocate."

"Thus I leave yo^r Lordshipp to the government of Almighty God. From yo^r Lordshipp's House of Burghley, the vii^th of June, 1573.

"Yo^r Lordshipp's moste loving & obedient sonne,

"Tho. Cecill."

He was knighted by Elizabeth during her remarkable visit to the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth, in July, 1575, and took a part in the performance of the splendid masques and pageants by which it was distinguished. So too in 1581 he was among the foremost of the challengers, and acquired great credit, in the justs and tournaments which were exhibited at the Court to celebrate the arrival of the Queen's suitor, the Duke of Alençon. In 1585 he joined the little army then sent to the Netherlands, whether in the character of a volunteer, or with any appointed command, we are not informed, and, on the delivery to Elizabeth of what were called the cautionary towns, was appointed Governor of the Brill. He remained for a little more than two years in the Low Countries, and, soon after his return, still cherishing his warlike inclination, embarked in the great fleet which was fitted out to sustain the attack of the Spanish Armada, and was personally engaged in the celebrated contest of six days which terminated in the discomfiture of the assailants. On the fourth of August, 1598, he succeeded, on the departure of his father, to the Barony of Burghley, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1601, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

The affection of James to Sir Robert Cecil, his half brother, abundantly recommended Burghley to the notice of that Prince, who, immediately on his accession, caused him to be sworn of the

Privy Council, appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the County of Northampton, and soon after offered him an Earldom, a dignity which at that time he declined to accept. Collins, in his Peerage, has printed a letter from him, conveying that refusal, and addressed to " Sir John Hobart," whom Collins calls " Attorney General.' Here is some gross mistake, which however cannot be corrected, as no reference is given to the repository in which the original remains. Sir John Hobart never was Attorney General. His father, Sir Henry, did hold that office, but he was not appointed to it till three years after the date of the letter in question, nor was his son John, or any other John Hobart, at that time a Knight. The probability is that it was addressed to some other person of distinction, and that Collins mis-read the name. Of the genuineness of the letter in all other respects there can be no reason to doubt. I give it here as it stands in the Peerage.

" Sir John Hubbert,

" Your letter fownde me in such estate as rather I desyred three days ease of payne than to delyght to think of anny tytle of honnour—I am resolvyd to contente myself with this estate I have of a Baron, and my p̃sent estate of lyving, howsoever those of the world hath enlargyd it, I fynd lyttell inough to meynteyne the degree I am in; and I am sure they that succeed me wyll be less hable to maynteyne it then I am, consydering there wyll goo owt of the Baronage three yonger broother's lyvings. This is all I can wryte unto you at this tyme, being full of payne, and therfore yow must be content wyth this my brefe wryting; and I give yow my very hartie thanks for yo^r good wyshes, and thynk myself beholdyng to those my friends that had care of me therin; and so I rest,

Burghley, your assured frend,
this 12^th of January, 1603. Tho. Burghley."

He afterwards consented to accept this title. On the fourth of

May, 1605, a patent passed the Great Seal creating him Earl of Exeter; and on the same day his brother was advanced to the Earldom of Salisbury, with a special reservation of precedence of him, which is said to have caused for a time some ill-blood between them. Their difference however was speedily accommodated, for the envy and malice excited by this simultaneous accumulation of honours on the two brothers, and the unlimited favour and confidence bestowed by the King on one of them, rendered it prudent for them to make common cause with each other. They were assailed by anonymous libels and pasquinades; their merits undervalued, their very persons ridiculed, and their descent charged with obscurity. On the last of these points the good old Treasurer had always been peculiarly tender and tenacious, and the more because the antiquity of his family was really doubtful; and his sons had followed his example. An original letter from the Earl of Exeter, curiously illustrative of this disposition in them, remains in the Harleian collection, and well merits insertion among these notices of the writer.

" Coosyn Allyngto̅,

Ther is some cawse of late fallen owt of one that gives reproachfull wordes against my broother, and therwithall sayd that it was a strange thyng that such a one as he, whose grandfather was a syvemaker, shold rule the whole State of England; and, though y^e^ malyce of the party was towards hym, yett I must be lykewyse sensyble therof myself, being booth dycendid fro̅ hym; thirfor I have thought good to requyre you fourthw^th^ to take the paynes to make search in my study at Burghley amo gst my boxes of my evyde̅ces, and I thynk you shall fynd y^e^ very wrytt itself by the w^ch^ my gra dfather, or great gra̅dfather, or booth, were made Sheriffs of Ly̅col̅shyre or Northa̅pto̅shyre, and lykewyse a warra̅t fro̅ y^e^ Duke of Suffolk in King Henry th' eight's tyme to my gra̅dfather, and old Mr. Wy̅gfyld, that dead is, for the certifying towchy̅g y^e^ fall of woodds in Clyff parke,

or Rocky͂gha͂ Forrest, by the name of 'Davy Cecyll Esquyre,' wᶜʰ tytle at those dayes was not usyd but to such that ware gentyllme͂ of note, wher comonly they were entytled but by yᵉ name of gentyllme͂. If you have anny record of yoʳ owne to shewe the dyscent of my great gra͂dfather I pray you send a note thereof lykewyse. My Lord my father's alteryng yᵉ wryty͂g of his name makith many yᵗ are not well affectyd to owr Howse to dowbt whyther we be ryghtly descendid of yᵉ Howse of Wales, becawse they wryght ther names 'Sitselt,' and oʳ name is wrytte͂ 'Cecyll:' my gra͂dfather wrote it 'Syssell;' and so in ortography all these names dyffer, wherof I mervayl what movyd my L. my father to alter it. I have my Lord's pedegree very well set owt, which he left unto me. I pray you lett this be secrett unto yourselfe, wᶜʰ my broother of Sallysburye disyred me so to give in charge unto you: and so I com͂end me very kyndly unto your selfe, and my good awnte yoʳ wyffe. Fro͂ London, this xiiiᵗʰ of November, 1605.

Yoʳ very lovy͂g coosyn and frend,

To my looving frende and cosen, Hugh Allington, Esquyer.

EXETER."

He continued, doubtless by his own choice, to live chiefly in a splendid privacy. In 1616 he was appointed, with some more Privy Counsellors, to restore the cautionary towns in form to the States General. He seems, towards the conclusion of his life, to have taken up an inclination to Church-government, for in 1618 he accepted a nomination, with others, to proceed summarily against Jesuits and seminary priests, with authority to banish them the realm; and in 1620 was joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in a special Ecclesiastical commission for that province, and, towards the end of the same year, in another for that of York. He left some proofs too, not only of a charitable disposition, but of an affection to learning, for he founded and endowed a hospital at Lidington, in Rutlandshire, for a warden, twelve

poor men, and two women; and gave an estate to Clare Hall, in Cambridge, for the maintenance of three fellows, and eight scholars. He died on the seventh of February, 1621, O. S. and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

This nobleman was twice married; first, to Dorothy, daughter and coheir of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had a very numerous issue. The sons were William, his successor; Richard, from whom the present Marquis of Exeter is descended; Edward, a celebrated military commander, who was created by King Charles the first Baron Cecil of Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon, and died without male issue; Christopher; and Thomas—the daughters—Catherine, who died unmarried; Lucy, wife of William Powlett, third Marquis of Winchester; Mildred, married first to Sir Thomas Read, secondly to Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, in Lancashire; Mary, to Edward Lord Denny; Susan, who died unmarried; Elizabeth, wife, first to Sir William Hatton, and after, to the Lord Chief Justice Coke; Dorothy, married to Sir Giles Allington, of Horseheath, in Cambridgeshire; and Frances, to Sir Nicholas Tufton, afterwards created Earl of Thanet. He took to his second Lady, Frances, eldest daughter of William Brydges, fourth Lord Chandos, widow of Sir Thomas Smith, of Parson's Green, in Middlesex, and had by her one daughter, Sophia Anne, who died young, and unmarried.

Engraved by S. Freeman.

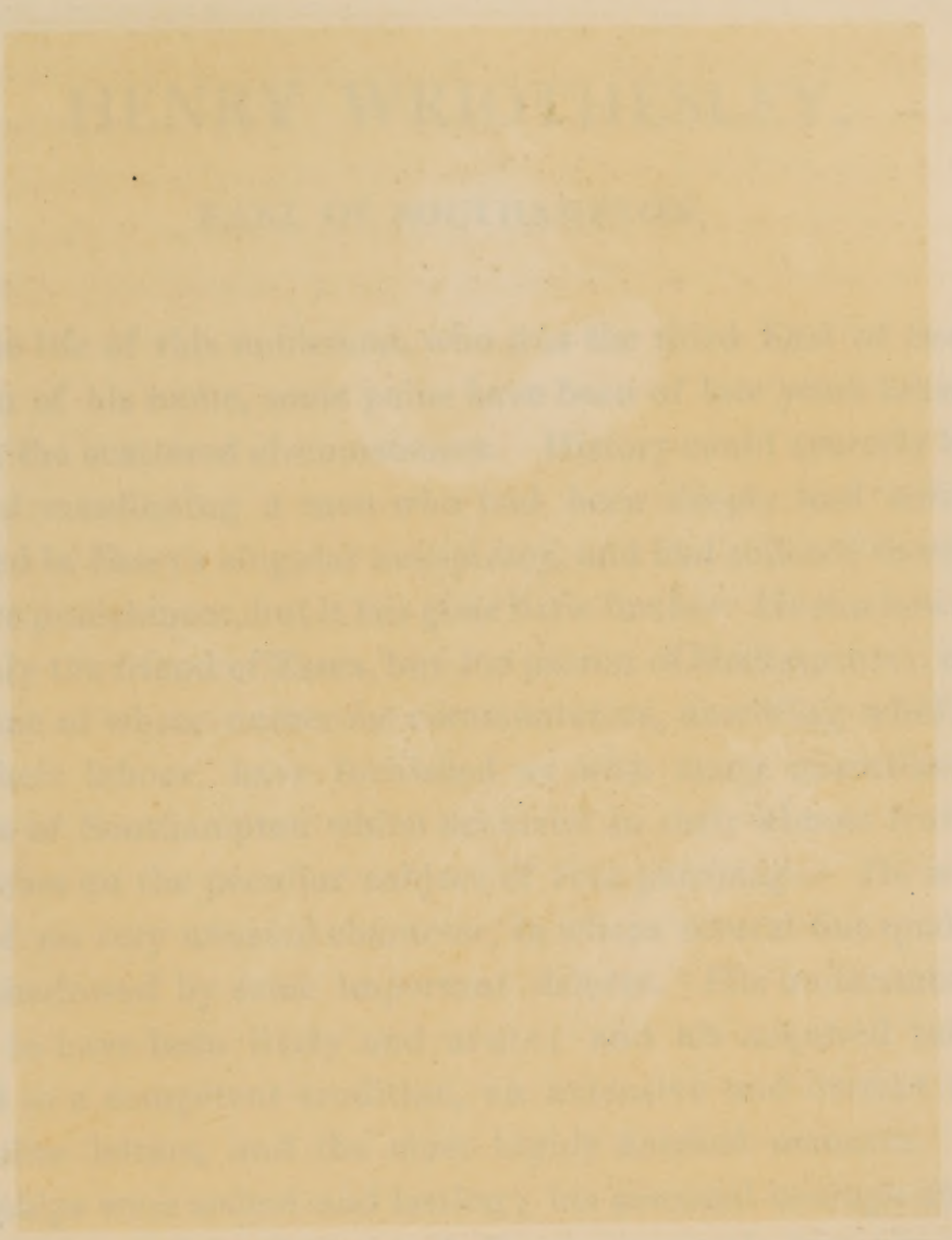
HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MIREVELT, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Dec. 1, 1830; by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Of the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstsnces. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakespeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting; his personal courage almost proverbial; and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears

by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton." He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards confirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxenford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M." which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Gervase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the Garland, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Tercera, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them were gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he was knighted in the field by Essex, "ere," says the author, "he could dry the

sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598 Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, " clean contrary," says Camden, " to the Deputy's instructions;" for it seems that Southampton had not long before offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively. Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this aweful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. " He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, " for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex: that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. their going into the city, which was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the

Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: that his sword had not been drawn all that day: that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels: that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity; not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him; and this he did," concludes Camden, "in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. "That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, "recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed, singularly enough, "to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled on his

Countess: in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is no where clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alledged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonization; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that corporation, which had not long been established; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, "indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military

affairs did in fact soon after recur on him; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the Duchy of Cleve.

In 1617, he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return: on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain however it is that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace. In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. "March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occasion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

My Lo.

I have found your Lo. alredy so favorable and affectionate unto mee that I shall be still herafter desierus to acquaint you w^th^ what concernes mee, & bould to aske your advice & counsell, w^ch^ makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, w^ch^ I cannot better doe then by sendinge unto you the answer itself, w^ch^ you shall receave heereinclosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not onely magnifie his Ma^tie's^ gratious dealinge w^th^ mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, & restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, w^ch^ if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is unpossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see any other then my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready, as is fitt, to acknowledge his Ma^tie's^ favor to mee, but can hardly perswade myself that any error by mee com~itted deserved more punishment than I have had, & hope his Ma^tie^ will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre-chamber sentence, w^ch^ God forbidd I should ever doe. I have, & shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speake as little of it as I can; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe tomorrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement, there to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe w^th^ mee, who hoped to been discharged at the returne of my messenger from Court, and seames much trobled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest hee should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it you shall, I thinke, doe him a favour. For my part, it is so little troble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I

beseech you returne by him the inclosed L^re^, & beleeve that, whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

your Lo. most assured frend, to do you servis,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To the right honorable my very good Lo. the
Lo. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala; the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus—" For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies." The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive. " There is no readier way," says the Lord Keeper, " to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy"—and again—" Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton."

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers; was a member of all committees on important affairs; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon

his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature, and connection with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakespeare's two short dedications, however, of the Poems of Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant that Southampton gave to Shakespeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "Guide to Tongues" that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only: the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who, in his Britannia, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that

county—" Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriothesley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; cujus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et principi profundat:" The other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers. The nature, and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—" The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by H. G. 1618." In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,
Which on free greatnes too too oft attends,
Can by presumption threaten your free state;
For these presaging sea-birds do amate
Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes
By their approach to feare the future windes
Of all calamitie, no lesse than they
Portend to seamen a tempestuous day;
Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,
As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto " In utraque perfectus," is subjoined the following compliment—

What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will
Dislike this union, or not labour still
To reconcile the arts and victory?
Since in themselves arts have this quality,
To vanquish errour's traine; what other then
Should love the arts, if not a valiant man?
Or how can he resolve to execute
That hath not first learn'd to be resolute?
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
Your great example shall their spite confute.

This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the first, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton; Anne, married to Robert Wollop, of Farley, in Hants; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

JAMES, MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

OB.1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London Published Jan.y 1,1835 by Harding & Lepard. Pall Mall East.

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

The slender notices that are to be found variously scattered relative to this nobleman's story will furnish but an outline which it is now too late to expect should ever be filled up. The writers of his own country could have little to record of one who had in a manner quitted it for ever in early youth, and the jealousy of those of the land to which he emigrated probably induced them to leave the events of his manhood in almost total obscurity This has been the common fate of almost all the Scots who accompanied or followed James on his accession to the English Throne. If our historians could not reasonably find the means of treating them with scorn and vituperation, they passed them over in silence. Thus however we are enabled to draw at least a negative inference that our present subject was a man of fair character and conduct.

He was born in the year 1589, the only son of John, first Marquis of Hamilton, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Glamis, Chancellor of Scotland. The ever active loyalty of his father, and grandfather, the Regent Duke of Chatelherault, who had constantly employed the power with which their near propinquity in blood to the Scottish Crown invested them only to maintain it on the heads of Mary and her son, had greatly impaired their princely revenues, and James, when too young to estimate duly their services, had been made an instrument by his first, and most worthless favourite, James Stewart, in the further depression of this illustrious House. The young Hamilton was sent abroad in his childhood, and returned not till shortly before his father's death, which occurred in 1604, when the King gave, or rather restored to him, for they had been some years before wrested from the

family, the estates of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, in the shire of Forfar, and pressingly invited him to court, where, soon after his arrival, he was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber.

He is said to have been one of the handsomest and most polite men of his time, and his letters, of which some specimen will presently be given, clearly indicate a lively and jocose temper. James, whom such qualities always delighted, even to fascination, and who was probably anxious also to atone for the share which he had been induced to take in the persecution of the Hamiltons, soon manifested an extravagant partiality towards him. "It is certain," says Collins, in his Peerage, but without quoting his authority, "that no person could have disputed with him the King's affection and confidence, the Duke of Buckingham excepted;" and he seems to have lived too on the best terms with the favourite himself. It was not long before he was sworn of the Privy Counsel, and raised to the office of Lord Steward of the Household: on the sixteenth of June, 1619, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron of Ennerdale in Cumberland, and Earl of Cambridge, a dignity which had never before been granted but to persons of the Blood royal.

Nor were his services confined to the decoration of a Court. In 1621, a period at which the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland required profound judgement and address, James appointed him High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the fourth of August, N. S. in that year. It was in this Parliament that those new regulations in the discipline of the Scottish Church, well known by the name of the five articles of Perth, from their having been concluded on in a general assembly held three years before in that town, were now finally ratified. The observance of them had hitherto been rejected by a multitude of ministers, with all the pertinacity which so peculiarly distinguishes calvinistic dissent, while the King, with every good reason on his side, was not less obstinately determined to enforce it. The passing of the Act, which was voted but by a

small majority, was mainly ascribed to the discreet conduct of the Marquis, and the submission to it which followed, to the well placed moderation and severity which he subsequently exercised. He returned to the enjoyment of increased favour, and on the seventh of July, 1623, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

Here, most unexpectedly, closed his brief and brilliant career. On the third of March, 1624, O. S. in the very prime of his life and his prosperity, he died at Whitehall, after a very short illness. When the news was communicated to James, who was then in ill health, he is said to have exclaimed, alluding also to the recent and yet more sudden death of another of his kinsmen, the Duke of Richmond, "If the branches are thus cut down the root will shortly follow;" and it was prophetically said, for on the twenty-seventh of the same month he himself expired. Arthur Wilson, whose reports however it is too often prudent to receive with some caution, gives the following remarkable circumstances of the Marquis's departure. "The Marquis Hamilton," says he, "died before our King, suspected to be poisoned, the symptoms being very presumptuous; his head and body swelling to an excessive greatness; the body being all over full of great blisters, with variety of colours. The hair of his head and beard came off without being touched, and brought the skin with them; and there was a great clamour of it in the Court, so that doctors were sent for to view the body; but the matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it: only Doctor Eglisham, a Scotsman, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the author of it. The Marquis's son had a little before married the Earl of Denbigh's daughter, who was the Duke of Buckingham's niece, and yet this tie could not oblige a friendship between them, because the Marquis was averse to the marriage. This distance, and other discontents, occasioned some tumerous discourses, which reflected much upon the Duke, but they never broke out in this King's time, being bound up close, as it was thought, more by the Duke's power than his innocency.

Now it is scarcely possible that Wilson's statement as to any enmity existing between these noblemen can be correct, more especially arising from the cause to which he ascribes it. The two young persons whom he mentions were married in 1620, and there are in the Harleian collection three original letters, on trifling subjects, from Hamilton to Buckingham, a short extract from one of which will be presently inserted, written in terms not only of the highest friendship but of gaiety and cordiality, the sincerity of which cannot be suspected, during Buckingham's absence in Spain with Prince Charles in 1623. I give the following, from the Marquis to the Prince himself at that time, not only for some intrinsic curiosity which it possesses, but for the sake of the short passage in which Buckingham is mentioned under the title of " the Admiral."—

May it plaes your Hynes,

Your goodnes is the caus that in all my lyf I never studied befoir hand what to say to you, my hairt telling me I micht tell you without danger what it thocht, and now, lat it luk as God and you plaes, have with you in the old fachoun. Your Hynes' lettir gave me such comfort, for the wich God thank you, as helth eftar siknes, or welth eftar want, or a grant, eftar many denyalls, to a passionat lover. Such distress was I in, being jelous of your favour, that I longed to kno the caus why I was used with so much distrust, having my interes in your good sum degries moir thaen most subjects, and, tho bot for that, wold never have betrayed you to robers by the way. This my curiositi, and almost mutinie, I am suir cumith from a passionat love, and so in justice may claim a pardoun by cours; bot for your jornay itself, which is now the filosoficall questioun of this Ile, I must say that many thinkis heir the good sukces dependis yeit a litill on chance. I am nothing of that mynd, for I kno your Hynes' own curage and wisdoum, and the faithfull service of the Admirall, can maik those thair se thair advantage in your love. For my pairt, if any heir mistrust,

as my Lady Wrothi's bouk says, that you will not do gallantly, I shall gainsay it, if want of curage hindir me not, for I dar be bound, not only, in the French fachoun, body and goodis, bot body, and goodis, and honor to, upon your word; and, in the maen tym, prays God to preserve your Hynes, as

your Hynes' faithfull

Whythall and humbles servan,

xii Apryll. J. Hamilton.

The journey to Madrid was a creature of Buckingham's ambition; agreeable doubtless for its novelty to Charles, who was however probably indifferent as to the result in contemplation. It may be reasonably inferred from a passage towards the conclusion of this epistle that Charles had shewn little warmth in his suit to the Infanta, and the conjecture seems to be nearly confirmed by the following extract of a letter from the Marquis to Buckingham of the second of the same month—" I besich you taik the painis to tell the Prince, for I have not boldness anuf to wryt it myself, that I pray very hartely for him now I deir sueir he is a perfyt brave man. He wanted of old that one poynt to be of the fraternitie of fierce lovers, in wich ardour God send him good luk. It is much talked heir whether it war good you cam home before the Prince or no: for my pairt, I know not what counsell to give, bot leaves it to what your ouin hairt and God Almighti will advys you."

This nobleman married Anne, fourth daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, who brought him three sons, and as many daughters. James, created Duke of Hamilton, and William, who succeeded his brother in that honour, both of whom will be found treated of at large in the course of this work; and John, who died young. The daughters were Anne, who married Hugh Montgomery, seventh Earl of Eglingtoun; Margaret, wife of John, first Earl of Crawfurd and Lindsay; and Mary, married to James Douglas, second Earl of Queensberry.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

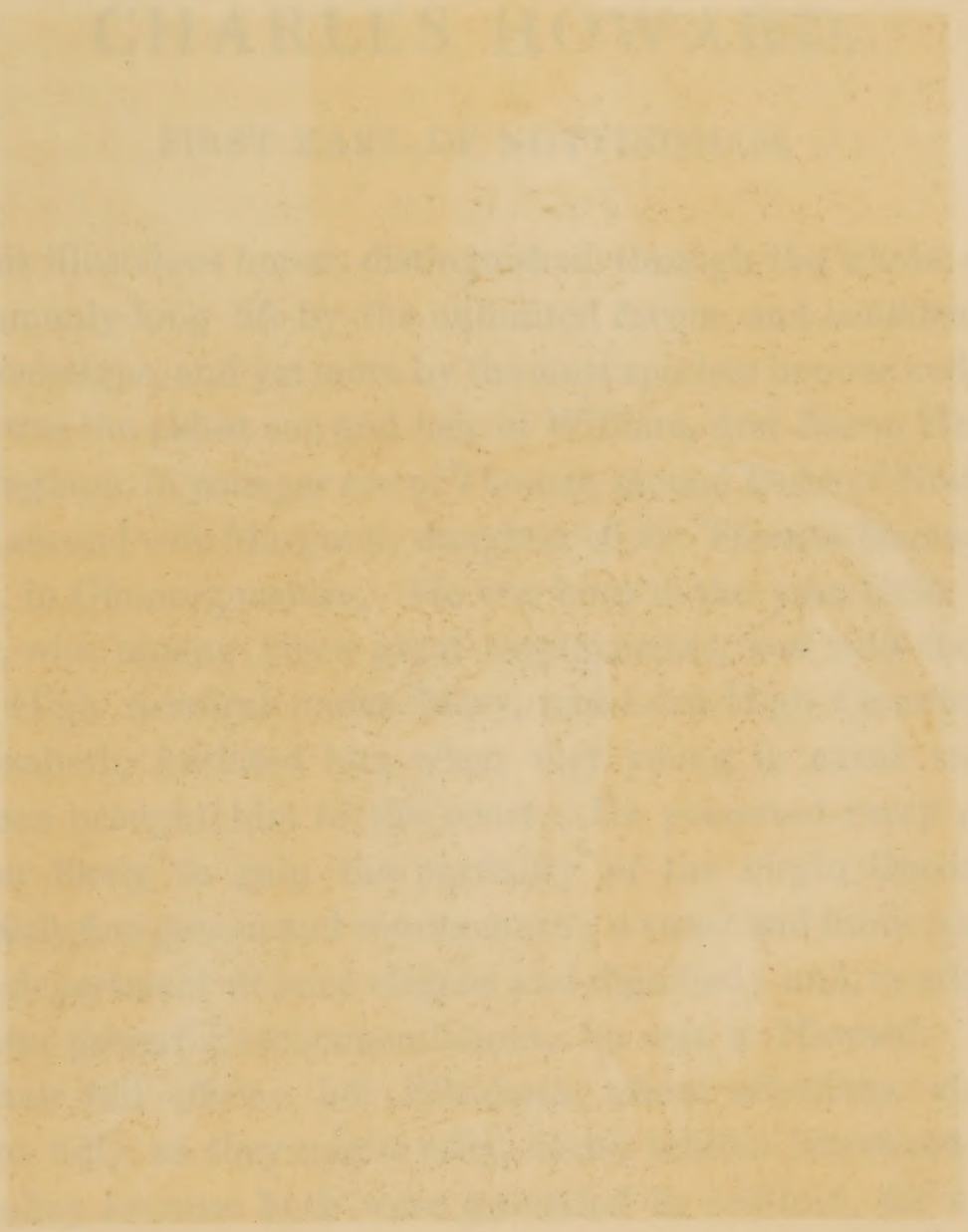
CHARLES HOWARD, FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London, Published Jan.1, 1831, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

Of his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk), by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty, in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance; a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified; and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the force then led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron

in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the order of the Garter. Several writers who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the ardous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. "She had," says Camden, "a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless: Walsingham, therefore, to spare expense, dispatched an express to recall four of the largest ships, which the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the

enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the high offices which he held, had acquired the precedency; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him the office of Earl Marshal: Nottingham, in his turn, now became

disgusted; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension. Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the space of a fortnight; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with his generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence: Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend; and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring from the Queen first a reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberra-

tions of temper which preceded her dissolution Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward; placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his embassy was unusually splendid; he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expenses: and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns; yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate; his expenditure had been always enormous; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed

his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease, and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year) easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the convoying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred; and by a patent of precedency, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the second to his ancestors the Mowbrays; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery; he ever after called the Earl "father," and bent the knee on coming into his presence; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house of Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John

Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates; and three daughters; Elizabeth, wife first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.

Engraved by W.T.Mote.

LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

OB.1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Oct^r 1 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

LODOWICK STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

This nobleman, whose character seems to have been as estimable as his birth was illustrious, was first cousin, once removed, to King James the first; for his grandfather John, Lord Aubigny, was second brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, the father of Henry, Lord Darnley, who had reigned in Scotland, in right of his Queen, the celebrated Mary. He was the eldest of the two sons of Esme Stuart, first Duke of Lenox in that country, by Catherine, youngest daughter of William de Balzac, Lord of Entragues and Marcoussis, in Auvergne, descended from one of the most ancient and noble families in that part of France, and was born on the twenty-ninth of September, 1574. He succeeded to his father's dignities, among which may perhaps not improperly be reckoned the offices of hereditary Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of Scotland, in the year 1583; and we are told, by at least one credible writer, that James, on undertaking his nuptial visit to Denmark in 1589, appointed him Viceroy of Scotland during its continuance; and declared him heir to the Crown—an inheritance to which, admitting all the latitude which the law of Scotland allows to collaterals, he had at that time scarcely a distant presumptive claim.

He had passed much of the early part of his life in France, and in such estimation, that the King entrusted to him the command of his celebrated regiment of Scots Guards; for his father, who had lived there at least as much as in Scotland, had been most confidentially and very actively engaged in superintending the relative affairs of the two Crowns, and was at length in a manner exiled thither through the intrigues of Elizabeth with the enemies

of Mary. Thus in some measure qualified for the office, James sent the young Duke ambassador to Henry the fourth in July, 1601. He remained however but five months at Paris; and returning through London passed a short time in the court of Elizabeth, who entertained him with great magnificence, and apparent cordiality. He was the first, not only in dignified rank, but also in royal favour, of the crowd of his countrymen who accompanied James to England when he mounted the throne, and was presently distinguished accordingly; for on the second of July, 1603, he was invested, together with Prince Henry, with the Order of the Garter. The Duke of Sully, who now came on the part of the French King to congratulate James on his accession, informs us that the Scottish faction, as he calls it, at the Court of London, was at that time divided into two branches, the one headed by Lenox, the other by the Earl of Mar, and that a reciprocal and inveterate hatred subsisted between them; not, as he observes, regarding political affairs, for none of them were "acquainted with the business of the Cabinet, and they were equally inclined to France; but merely from competition for the advantage in the King's favour." This, so far at least as it relates to the Duke, is undoubtedly correct. It is the only intimation that we have of his being ever engaged in any party. He gained the King's favour; enjoyed it uninterruptedly during the whole of his life; and was contented.

His embassy was renewed in the winter of 1604. John Chamberlaine, the lively correspondent of Secretary Winwood, writes to that minister on the eighteenth of December—"the Duke of Lenox is presently going in embassage for France; and though it be thought that his own business is his greatest employment, yet for this (his) countenance this place is imposed on him, and three thousand pounds to bear his charge." He was ill received at Paris, for when he arrived there he found the Court in the greatest ferment on the discovery of some treasonable practices of Francis de Balzac, Count d'Entragues, his mother's brother, and

one of the most intriguing men in France. The same John Chamberlaine tells Winwood, in a letter of the twenty-sixth of the succeeding February—" the Duke of Lenox is not yet returned, but some of his forerunners are come, who report that he found but coarse entertainment, whether it were by reason of his uncle Entragues' disgrace, or upon complaint of the French ambassador here that he is no more respected, and therefore hath sent for his leave to be gone." He arrived in London a few days after.

In 1607 he was appointed High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, for some years after which date he seems to have moved only in the ordinary line of a courtier of his exalted rank. In June, 1613, he was again dispatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, to sift the inclination of that Court on the question of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal of France; and on the sixth of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the English Peerage by the titles of Baron Settrington, of Settrington, in Yorkshire, and Earl of Richmond. It should seem that James had not conferred these honours on him with the readiness that his constant expressions of affection towards the Duke might have given him room to expect; for on the sixth of the preceding May we have again that agreeable court-gossip, Chamberlaine, writing to Winwood—" the Duke of Lenox had a pretence to be made Duke or Earl of Richmond, and so by consequence an English Peer of Parliament, and to that purpose had procured divers noblemen's hands to present to the King on that behalf; but, finding more difficulty in the presenting it than he expected, hath given it over for the time."

In October, 1615, he was deputed, together with the Lords Chancellor and Chief Justice, to examine personally the miserable Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, and on the first of the following month was appointed Lord Steward of the Household. In several succeeding years we have no intelligence of him further than that he was engaged in some of those commercial speculations which the great men of that time encouraged with a show of splendid

patrician patronage, and a secret view of profit. An original instrument, undertaking the establishment of a colony on the banks of the River of Amazons, signed by himself, the Earls of Arundel, Dorset, Warwick, Clanricarde, and many others, with the several sums respectively contributed by them placed against their names, remains in the Harleian Collection, and it appears that he subscribed three hundred pounds towards the prosecution of this scheme.

He now abandoned all concern in public affairs, for which he seems never to have been much inclined, nor perhaps eminently qualified. It was probably therefore, (not to mention the sweetness of temper, and correctness of manners, which are said to have distinguished him) that he lived in harmony with all men, and all parties. With the haughty and jealous favourite, Buckingham, whom we shall see he was used to call his son, he appears to have been on terms of strict intimacy, even of affection. The following short letter, evidently written in 1622, while Buckingham was attending the Prince of Wales in his romantic visit to Madrid, however insignificant in itself, will tend to prove those facts. Some other originals, always in the same strain and with the same tender address, may be found in the Harleian collection, from which this is extracted.

" My noble Lord, and best childe,

" I was verri glade to rec've your letter, and wth all of your kinde beleiff and acceptance of my love and respects to you ; and, as for that last cause of my expressions of my obligations and loving respects, I will keep in store till I have the hapeines to see and imbrace you, having only told it to our olde maistre, whome God long presarve. By your last despache you have filled all our hartes (I meane all honest harts) full of joye, for that we heire of his Heighnes' good and perfit healthe, and the good despache of his wourthei desires, wth the appearance of his quike retourne, wth his full contentment. For my part, I still wische your

stay and attendance upon his Heighnes, at leist till the mariage be perfitted, and that he be reddei to come awaye. I hoop long er you shall resave this you have resaved ane lettre of myne concerning this pourpos; so I will forbeare to trouble you furder but still assuring you that I am for ever

Your Lo'. most assured loving father and servant,

LENOX.'

To my verie good Lord
the Lord Marques of Buckinghame.

At length, on the seventeenth of May, 1623, he was created Earl of Newcastle on Tyne, and Duke of Richmond—an elevation which he survived but nine months. Wilson, in his Life of James the first, gives an account of the Duke's death and the circumstances attending it in terms which could scarcely be amended. It happened on the twelfth of February, in the following year, the day appointed for the meeting of a new Parliament.

"The morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his limbs to support the grandeur of Majesty at the first solemn meeting of a Parliament; and calling for him with earnestness, a messenger was dispatched to his lodgings in haste, where the King's commands, and the messenger's importunity, made the Duchess, his wife, somewhat unwillingly, go to the Duke's bed-side to awake him, who, drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed. The suddenness of the affright struck her with so much consternation that she was scarce sensible of the horror of it; and it was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant, who might serve as a fore-runner to the King, and an emblem to all his people, that in the dark caverns of man's body death often lurks, which no human prudence or providence is able to discover."

This nobleman had been thrice married, but left no issue. His first lady was Sophia, third daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie in Scotland; his second, Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell, and relict of Robert Montgomery, Master of Eglingtoun in the same country. He married, thirdly, that remarkable woman, of whom some account is elsewhere given in this work, Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, and widow successively of Henry Pranwel, of London, and of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The Duke, and his last Duchess, lie buried in Westminster Abbey, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, under a magnificent monument, which was erected by her order.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

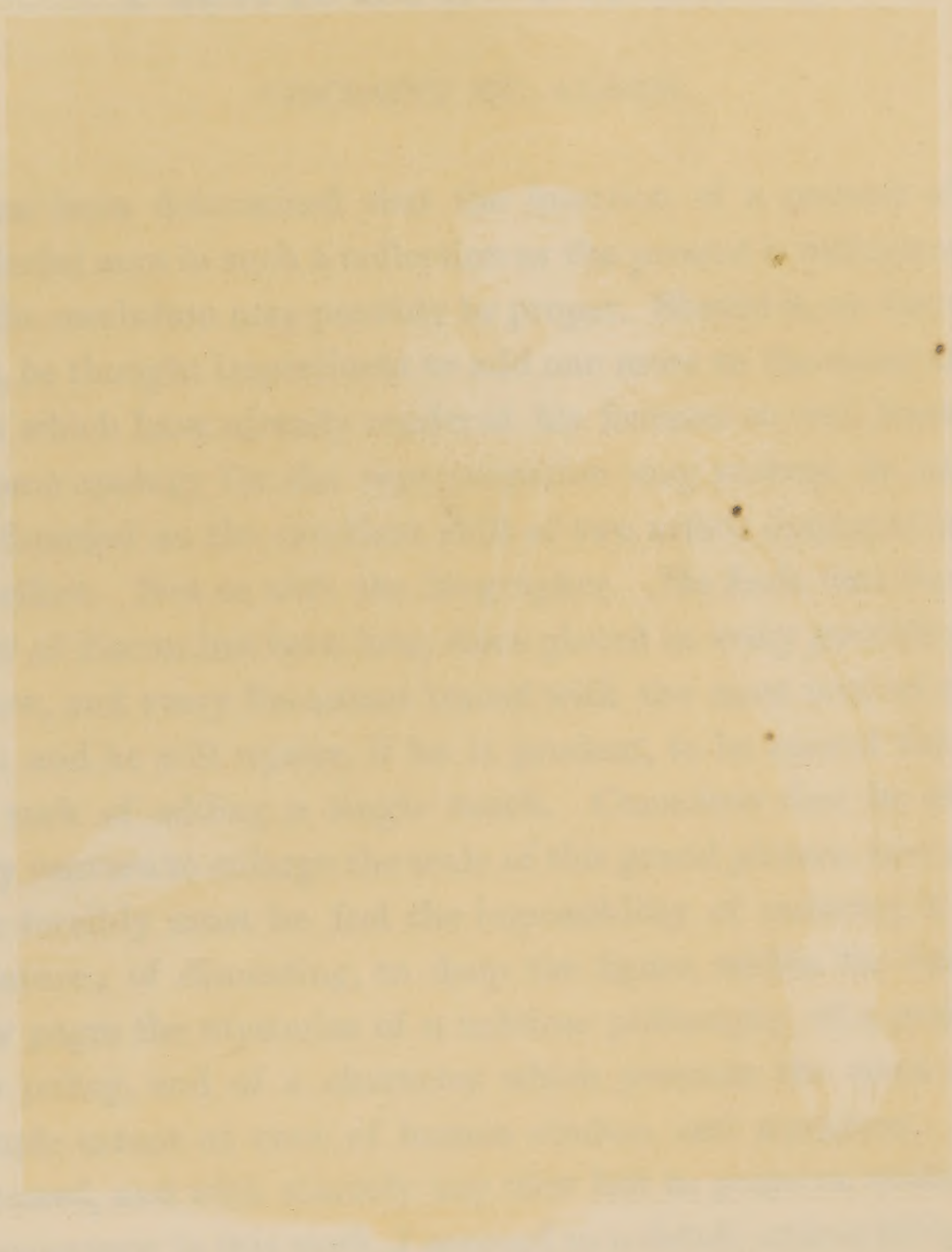
FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT St. ALBAN.

OB. 1626.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London, Published August 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



FRANCIS BACON,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

It has been determined that the insertion of a portrait of this wonderful man in such a collection as the present is indispensable, and the resolution may possibly be proper. Should it, on the other hand, be thought impertinent to add one more to the many engravings which have already rendered his features so well known to us, some apology for the supererogation may perhaps be reasonably founded on the excellent skill of two artists displayed in this new effort. Not so with the biographer. He finds that the character of Bacon has been long since placed in every possible point of view, and every lineament traced with the most critical exactness: and he will rejoice, if he is prudent, to be spared the perilous task of adding a single touch. Conscious that he cannot safely venture to enlarge the scale of this grand picture, how much more forcibly must he feel the impossibility of reducing it to a miniature; of discussing, to drop the figure, within the limits of a few pages the mysteries of a sublime philosophy, of a profound state policy, and of a character which presents the most awful example extant at once of human wisdom and weakness. Thus impressed, and with scarcely any view but to preserve uniformity of appearance in this work, I proceed to a detail, unavoidably cold and meagre, of circumstances merely historical.

Francis Bacon was the younger of the two sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, by Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister to the wife of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. He was born at York House, in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561, and educated under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Primate, in Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was

entered at the age of twelve years. It should seem that it was not the intention of his parents to devote him to the profession of the law, for soon after he had left the University, he went to Paris with Sir Amias Powlett, and lived in the house of that minister during his embassy, on the affairs of which he was at least once dispatched to communicate personally with the Queen; but his father having been prevented, as is said, by a sudden death, in 1579, from making the provision intended for him, he returned and enrolled himself a member of the society of Gray's Inn. Here he studied the common law with the closest application, and relaxed his giant mind by laying the foundation of his philosophy. He remained long at the bar, undistinguished but by his talents and his eloquence, and by the extensive practice to which they had conducted him; nor was it till 1588 that he obtained even the degree of Counsel to the Queen, for he had cultivated a strict intimacy with Essex, the uniform rival, and indeed enemy, of his powerful relations the Cecils, who therefore in a great measure denied him their patronage. It is true that they gave him the reversion of an office of considerable emolument, the Registership of the Star-chamber, and this was perhaps the only instance of their favour ever experienced by him.

He waited, however, patiently till the year 1596, when the office of Solicitor General becoming vacant, Essex and his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to place him in it. They were unsuccessful, and here we meet with a wonderful proof of the romantic generosity and grandeur of that nobleman's heart. Sympathizing with his disappointed friend, and stung with anger at the slight which had been put on his own suit, he instantly determined to alienate a part of his estate to Bacon, from whose pen we have a recital of the conversation which occurred when the Earl visited him to declare his intention. "After the Queen," says he, "had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor in my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park, and brake with me,

and said, 'Mr. Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance, yet you have spent your time and your thoughts in my matters: I die (these were his words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.'" Twickenham Park, here mentioned, was the gift bestowed on him, including one of Essex's highly ornamented mansions, particularly celebrated for its pleasure grounds, which had obtained the name of the "garden of paradise." Yet Bacon, painful to relate, when that unhappy nobleman was some years after arraigned, not only pleaded against him at the bar, but at length published a declaration of his treasons, with the view of justifying his execution. The nation shuddered at this ingratitude to its favourite. Bacon was universally execrated, and even threatened with assassination. He addressed an apology, which may be found in his works, to the Earl of Devonshire, one of Essex's bosom friends, from which the passage just now given is extracted; but the stain which he had cast upon himself was then too glaring, and he missed even the sordid reward at which he had aimed, for Elizabeth's ministers, to whom he had thus sold himself, durst not admit him publicly into their councils.

By James, who loved learning better than morals, and sought for servants at once wise and pliant, he became presently in some measure distinguished. He was among the first to prefer his claims to that Prince's favour, and had assiduously courted the great men of both nations, and of all parties, as well religious as political, to forward them. He had been long a member of the House of Commons, in which his exact knowledge of the temper of that body gave him perhaps more weight even than his admirable powers of mind, or his eloquence, and he rendered himself now essentially useful in forwarding there the King's favourite objects; for while he was, in fact, the confidential agent for the

Crown, he had the address to persuade the House of his entire independence, and to strengthen that impression, frequently espoused measures which he privately meditated to overthrow. This practice, then a novelty in parliamentary tactics, remained long unsuspected: His rewards, which doubtless were considerable, were kept as secret as his services, and it was not till the year 1607 that he was at length appointed Solicitor General; nor did that mark of royal favour tend to impair the confidence in which he was held by the Commons, for in the following session they made choice of him to represent to the King the grievances of the nation, and received with complacency a haughty answer because he had prefaced the delivery of it by a fascinating harangue. He remained without farther preferment till 1613, when on the twenty-seventh of October he obtained the post of Attorney General.

It was very soon after that period that the memorable George Villiers first appeared at Court, and became instantly a favourite. Bacon was the foremost of the flatterers of his youth and inexperience, and Villiers, justly proud of the friendship of the wisest of his countrymen, and with sufficient prudence to discern the importance of such a counsellor to his own welfare, became earnestly attached to him, and resolved to devote himself to his gratification. On the ninth of July 1616, the King received Bacon into the Privy Council, a distinction which it was not usual to bestow on Attorneys General; on the third of March 1617, O. S. delivered the Great Seal to him, as Lord Keeper; and on the fourth of January, in the succeeding year, exalted him to the degree of Lord High Chancellor. In making these several important steps he was assiduously aided by the influence which Villiers exercised over James, while his consummate policy in the pursuit of his own interests is almost without a parallel. A letter which may be found in his works, soliciting the King to promote him to the office of Lord Keeper, furnishes a curious instance of the craft with which he advanced his own cause, and undermined the pretentions

of others, solely by appealing to the ruling foible in his master's regal character: and this in a method so delicately covert and indirect that all his hints on the subject of prerogative seem to arise collaterally and incidentally. The following passage may be a sufficient example—" I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire, and, chiefly, because the Chancellor's place, after it went to the law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned counsel, and never upon a judge: for Audley was raised from a King's Sergeant; my father from Attorney of the Wards: Bromley from Solicitor; Puckering from Queen's Sergeant; Egerton from master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place. Now, I beseech your Majesty let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke this will follow; first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling man into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a judge at the upper end of your Council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent; for, though there should be emulation between them, yet, as legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best: He is no statesman, but an œconomist wholly for himself, so as your Majesty, more than an outward form, will find little help in him for the business. If you take my Lord of Canterbury, I will say no more but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height is fit only for a King. For myself, I can only present your Majesty with gloria in obsequio," &c.

On the eleventh of July, 1618, Bacon was created Baron of Verulam, in the County of Herts, and on the twenty-seventh of January, 1620, Viscount St. Alban. The great machine of the State had now fallen chiefly under his direction. James, who,

with all his vanity, had too much good sense to slight the dictates of another's wisdom, submitted most matters to his judgment and decision; and a mixture of friendship, veneration, and deference to age and long experience, had brought the warmth and the caprice of Buckingham, by whom so much was governed, in great measure under his controul. His sudden elevation in place, and dignity, and confidence, produced, however, more than usual envy, and aggravated the feelings of his enemies, who were many. The old party of the disgraced Earl of Somerset, which was by no means insignificant, detested him; Sir Edward Coke, with whom he had maintained for many years a constant rivalry and warfare, was his bitter foe, and ruled the opinions of a multitude. Bacon's attachment to Buckingham, which was invariable, had involved him in the unpopularity and jealousy with which that favourite was now surrounded; and the impartiality, whether proceeding from principle or policy, which distinguished his judicial decrees, had excited the resentment of numerous individuals in the Court and State whose private interests had been affected by them. Hopeless wishes for his downfall had been secretly formed by thousands, for probity, as well as wisdom, seemed to secure him from all attack, when the House of Commons in the Parliament which met on the thirtieth of January, 1620, only three days after his reception of his new dignity of Viscount, appointed a committee to enquire into the conduct of the courts of justice which, on the fifteenth of March, 1620, O. S. reported against him two charges of the grossest corruption. It was fully proved that he had accepted large bribes from two suitors in the chancery, and the turpitude of the offence seemed to acquire a deeper dye from the exceeding necessity of the parties, one of whom had been forced to mortgage an estate to furnish the requisite sum, and the other to borrow miserably of a usurer.

On the motion of Sir Edward Coke these charges were sent up to the Peers, to whom Bacon, who was, or feigned to be, very ill, sent an expostulatory letter. They answered him with respect

and tenderness, and even manifested an inclination to believe him innocent; but on the very next day new complaints were made to them by the House of Commons, in which more than twenty instances were cited of his having taken bribes, amounting together to many thousand pounds, and the Lords appointed a select committee to take the whole into the most serious consideration. Bacon now threw himself on the favour of the King, and the influence of Buckingham. James, who is said to have lamented his wretched degradation, even with tears, admitted him to a long audience, and procured an adjournment of Parliament for some days, in the hope of devising means to soften his fall, but the only effect of the pause was to produce fresh accusations. Nothing remained but to submit himself to the mercy of the Peers, and, on the twenty-fourth of April, he made a general acknowledgment of his guilt, by a letter to the House, composed with admirable force and beauty of expression, which was presented by the Prince of Wales. The Lords, however, very properly insisted on his answering to each particular charge, which he did, on the thirtieth of the same month, confessing nearly all that had been alledged against him. He was deprived the next day of the Great Seal: and, on the third of May, having in the meantime received a summons to attend the House, which he declined on the score of illness, the Peers, in the simple form of an answer to the House of Commons, then standing at their bar to demand judgment against him, sentenced him to a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; and to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, or of sitting in Parliament.

His confinement was short. James, still anxious to receive his counsels, renewed a personal intercourse with him, and, on the twelfth of the following October, signed a warrant remitting the whole of his sentence, except the parliamentary prohibition, from which also he was at length relieved towards the close of his life. He retired, loaded with debt, and unable to practise frugality:

such indeed were his necessities, that he condescended to sue for the office of Provost of Eton College, and suffered the mortification of a refusal. It is needless to say that his few remaining years were passed in study, but the greater part, and the most important, of his mighty works were composed during the period in which he directed the affairs of the State, and superintended the individual private interests of thousands; a fact almost miraculous. Of those works, as has been already premised, it is impossible here to speak to any purpose: suffice it therefore to say, referring only to their extent, that they consist, according to his own division of them, of two hundred and forty-one distinct treatises, philosophical, historical, religious, and political.

Bacon died on the ninth of April, 1626, and was buried in the chapel of St. Michael's Church in the town of St. Albans. He had been married in his middle age, to Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, an Alderman of London, by whom he left no issue.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

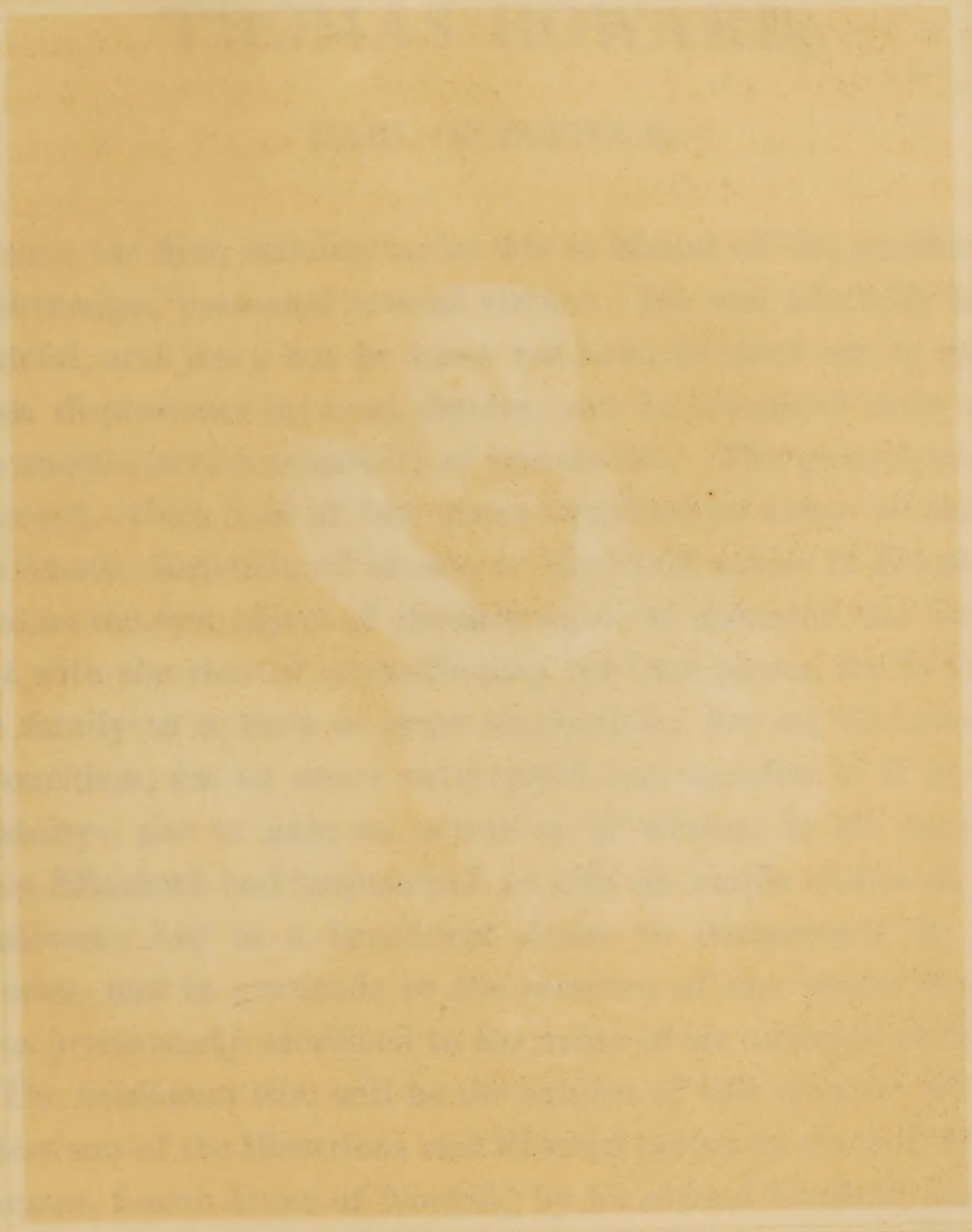
THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK.

OB. 1626.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

London, Published Aug. 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

JAMES the first, deficient as he was in almost all the qualities of a Sovereign, possessed several virtues. He was naturally kind, grateful, and just; but he knew not how, or cared not, to clothe those dispositions in royal dignity, and he exercised them with the unostentatious simplicity of private life. The great house of Howard, which had of late years furnished so many victims to the frantic barbarity of Henry, or the cruel policy of Elizabeth, became the first object of his care when he mounted the throne. Not with the view of strengthening his own power, for he found the family in a state of great depression; nor on the score of favouritism, for he never entertained any member of it in that capacity; nor to gain an accession of wisdom to his councils, since Elizabeth had bequeathed to him an ample choice of able ministers; but in a beneficent desire to compensate for past injuries, and in gratitude to the memory of one whose life had been prematurely sacrificed to the cause of his unhappy mother.

The nobleman who will be the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of the illustrious and ill-fated person to whom I allude, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second Duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir to Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. He was born in 1561, and at the age of eleven years succeeded to the inheritance of his mother's estates. Elizabeth, with tardy justice, allowed her Parliament in 1585 to release him from the attainder in which his father's sentence had involved him, and he immediately embraced the profession of arms, which at that time comprehended naval with military service. In 1588 he commanded a ship in the fleet which, under the orders of his

kinsman, Charles, Lord Effingham, defeated the memorable Spanish Armada, and was knighted for his gallantry in that great action. In 1591, having been cruising for six months in the neighbourhood of the Azores, in company with four other ships, in the view of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet, his little squadron was unexpectedly attacked by a vast force which had sailed from Spain, with secret orders to convoy the treasure. In this unequal combat, of which an exact account is given by Camden, in his life of Elizabeth, the bravery of an English sailor never shone more conspicuously than in the Lord Thomas Howard, who was prevented from devoting himself to certain death only by the prudent disobedience of the master of his ship. He commanded one of the divisions of the fleet in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, as he did again in the following year in a projected attack on the Spanish navy, in its harbours of Ferrol and Corunna, which was afterwards diverted to other objects, and in the end, owing to adverse weather, and perhaps yet more to the jealousy between Essex and Raleigh, proved nearly abortive. In all these services, however, his merit was highly distinguished, and, on his return from the last, Elizabeth gave him the order of the Garter, and about the same time appointed him Constable of the Tower. He had been in the preceding year summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden.

James, before he entered London, received him into the Privy Council; on the twenty-first of July, 1603, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk; and soon after appointed him Lord High Chamberlain. It was this nobleman who, in the execution of one of the duties of that office, discovered in the vault under the House of Peers the materials which had been concealed there for the gunpowder treason; and the detection of that plot, so frequently ascribed to the King's superior acuteness, arose, as is proved by one of the Secretary's letters preserved in Winwood's Memorials, out of the sagacious inferences drawn by the Earl and Secretary Cecil, from Lord Monteagle's mysterious paper. In 1613

he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in 1615, as he was again in 1617, nominated one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. On the eleventh of July, 1614, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of England.

He held that great office scarcely more than four years; for in 1618 he was charged with having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns, deprived of his staff, and committed, together with his Countess, to the Tower. The guilt was chiefly ascribed to the rapacity of that lady, and the Earl was in a great measure acquitted by the public judgment of all but the imprudence of concealing her faults. "The Earl," says Carte, an historian who always took great pains to discover the truth, "was in the general opinion of the world deemed guiltless of any considerable misdemeanor; but his Countess had rendered herself very odious by extorting money from all persons who had any matters to dispatch at the Treasury; Sir John Bingley, the Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, being the chief agent in making her bargains." Wilson, too, a writer never inclined to palliate the faults of James's Court or government, tells us that "the Earl, being a man of a noble disposition, though too indulgent to his too active wife, had retained the King's favour if he had taken Sir Edward Coke's counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence till it was too late, for then his submission did him little good; but, his wife's faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and imprisonment in the Tower." But the negative evidence in the Treasurer's favour afforded by the total silence on the subject of the arch-libeller of that reign, Sir Anthony Welden, who was the bitter enemy in particular too of the favourite Somerset, (the Earl's son in law) and all his connections, tend perhaps more to lighten the charge against him than either of the direct apologies above cited.

It is clear indeed, from the tardiness and moderation with

which the proceedings against the Earl were carried on that very little resentment was entertained against him, either by the King or the public. He was removed from his office of Lord Treasurer on the nineteenth of July, 1618, and immediately retired into the country, where he seems to have remained for more than six months. Between the twentieth and thirtieth of March, in the following year, he was several times examined, and obtained leave to go to his seat of Audley End, but without his lady. It was not till the third of August following that a full enquiry was ordered; and he was not publicly accused in the Starchamber till the twentieth of October. On the thirteenth of November he received his sentence of fine and imprisonment, was committed to the Tower on the twentieth; released, after nine days confinement; and received by James with kindness in the month of January, 1620. I find in the Harleian Collection, without dates, two original letters, hitherto I believe unpublished, from this nobleman to the King, which throw a strong light on several circumstances of his case. It appears pretty clearly from the first, which was evidently written at an early stage of the enquiry, that he had not till then entertained any expectation of being brought to trial; and this confidence alone affords no mean inference of his innocence.

Gratious Soverayn,

In this grevous tyme of my being barred from your presence, which to me ys the greatest afflyction that can lye upon me, and knowing by my former servyse to you the sweet and pryncely noble dysposition that ys in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgment which the world knowes you have, ys the ocasion that I presume at this tyme to lay before your Ma^{tie} my most humble sute, which ys that you wolde be pleased to looke upon the case of your poore servaunt, who after so many faythfull desyers of mine to do you servyse, (I do not say that success hath fallen out as I wyshed) showld now not only have suffered for

my weaknes and errours, but must be further questioned, to my dysgrace. I wolde to God your Ma^tie dyd truly understand the thoughts of my hart; and yf ther you could fynd one, the least, of yll affections to you, I wysh yt pulled out of my body.

Now, to add to my meseryes, geve me leave to let your Ma^tie knowe the hard estate I am in, for I do owe at thys present, I dare avow upon my fydelyty to you, lytle less then forty thousand pounds, which I well knowe wyll make me and myne poore and mesarable for ever. All this I do not lay downe to your Ma^tie's best judging eyes that I meane this by way of complaynt; for I do acknowledge the reason your Ma^tie had to do what you did; neither do I goo about to excuse errours to have escapt me; but wyll now and ever acknowledg your gratious favourable dealing with me, yf you wylbe pleased now to receyve me agayne to your favour, after this just correction; without which I desyer not to injoy fortune of any good, or lyfe in this world; which, in the humblest maner that I can, I begg at your pryncely feete, as

Your Ma^ties humblyest,
and loyall seruant and subject,
T. Suffolke.

He put in a plea, which indeed is virtually urged in this letter, of inability to pay his fine; and James, as Carte remarks, "perhaps rather to punish a distrust of his clemency, than with any strong suspicion of deceit, commissioned the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to enquire into his estate." It has been said, that he had previously conveyed a great part of it to his brother, Sir William Howard, and his son in law, the Earl of Salisbury. It is very unlikely that such a transaction should have escaped discovery by the commissioners; and it is certain that if they did discover it, they abused their trust by concealing it; for the King, after having received their report, mitigated the Earl's fine to seven thousand pounds. A very severe mortification, however, was still reserved for him. The Lord Howard of Walden, his heir, was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and one of

his younger sons held a place in the Prince's household. He was called on by the King to induce them by his influence to relinquish their employments, and on that occasion addressed to his Majesty the following earnest expostulation; but James had determined to be obeyed: the young men resigned their appointments, and were presently after replaced in them.

MOST GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

Your pryncely favour in delevering me and my wyfe out of the Tower, must and shall ever be acknowledged by us with all humble thanks; and now be pleased to geve me leave to be an humble sutor to your Ma^{ty}, that out of the tender compassion of your pryncely hart, you wylbe pleased to cast your eye upon the meserable estate of your dystressed, afflycted, and owld servant, now brought into feare of recovery of your Ma$^{te's}$ favour; and, so wretched my case ys as the little hope that remayned in me to lyve in your memory was my two sonn's servyse to your gratious self, and the Prynce. Yt is now requyred of me to impose upon them the resygnation of their places, which, wyth all humylytie I beseech you to geve me leave to say, I wolde sooner use my power over them to wyll them to bury themselves quycke, than by any other way than inforcement to geve up their places of servyse, which onely remayns to me to be either my dying comfort, or my lyving torment. Besydes, they are now past my government, being both married, and have children; only I have a paternall care of them, which I most humbly beseech your best-judging Ma^{tie} respectyvely to way how unhappy I must of necessitye think myselfe yf I showld be the perswader of that mysfortune to my chyldren, that ther chyldren within a few years wolde curse me for, either lyving or dead.

Upon all thes just considerations, most gracious Master, geve me leave to turn my cruell and unnaturall part of perswading them to yeld to that for which I should detest myself to my humblyest desyer, upon the knees of my hart to begg humbly of

your Ma^tie that whatsoever favor you have ever had to me for any servyse done that your Ma^tie wylbe pleased to spare the ruyn of these two young men, whom I fynd so honestly dysposed in ther desier of spending ther fortunes and lyves in your Ma^tie's and your pryncely sonn's servyse, as yf your dyspleasure be not fully satisfyed with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of Buckyngham to be my mediator to your Ma^tie in this behalfe, which I assure myself he wyll nobly performe, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Ma^tie in obtayning this great begunn favour. To conclude, with my prayer to God that your Ma^tie may ever fynd the same zeale and love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy that my hart's sole affection dyd, and ever shall, cary unto you; which God knowes was and ys more to your Ma^tie then to my wyfe and chyldren, and all other worldly things; which God measure to me acording unto the truth, as

Your Ma^tie's humble subject and servaunt,

T. SUFFOLKE.

He was said to lean to what was called the Spanish faction, a charge indeed which was laid indiscriminately against almost all James's ministers and courtiers. Here too the scandalous Welden, whose natural malignity gives to his very forbearance the character of praise, seems inclined to spare him, and to condemn the conduct of the Countess. "The constable of Castile," says he, "so plied his master's business, in which he spared no cost, that he procured a peace so advantageous for Spain, and so disadvantageous for England, that it, and all Christendom, have since both seen and felt the lamentable effect thereof. There was not one courtier of note that tasted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them not any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk; who shared in her Lord's interest, being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had in being mistress to the little great secretary (Cecil) the sole

manager of state affairs; so it may be said she was a double sharer; and in truth, Audley End, that great and famous structure, had its foundation in Spanish gold." Welden, when he uttered this last malicious assertion, well knew that the Earl derived his means of building that palace, once the glory of the County of Essex, and still, in its present state of curtailment, a magnificent mansion, from the sale of estates in the North of England, then annually let for ten thousand pounds. The building of Audley End is said to have cost one hundred and ninety thousand.

The Earl of Suffolk died at his house at Charing Cross, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1626, and was buried at Walden, in Essex. His character has been but imperfectly handed down to us; his enemies have found little to censure in his conduct; and his friends have forborne to descant on his merits, probably in the fear of provoking those invectives which may be always so easily cast on the memory of a fallen statesman. His genius and his temper seem to have been such as to qualify him rather for warlike than political service, and he was a great favourite with military men. The author of the "Honorable Voyage to Cadiz," published in Hackluyt's collection, says "the Vice-Admiral, Sir Thomas Howard's exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisdome, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet curtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weaknes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever had any maner of dealing with him." He was singularly unfortunate in his wife, and in two of his children; for they were not only culprits of different casts, but their faults were such as made it necessary to expose them by public investigation; and these domestic calamities fell the heavier on him, because he was a most kind father and husband, and because perhaps they might be traced to a monstrous and perverted effect of his own indulgence.

He was twice married, but by his first lady, Mary, daughter

and coheir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, he had no children. His second Countess, of whom so much has been said, was Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wilts, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich, one of the most celebrated beauties of her time. By her he had a numerous issue; of whom, Theophilus, his heir, who had been, during his father's life, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden, succeeded to the Earldom. Thomas, the second son, inherited the estates of his mother's family in Wiltshire; was created, in 1621, Lord Howard of Charlton, and Viscount Andover, and in 1653, when attending Charles the Second in his exile, Earl of Berkshire. From this nobleman all the Earls of Suffolk, &c. since the extinction in 1745 of the male issue of Earl Theophilus, have been descended. The third son, Henry, inherited under the will of his great uncle, Henry, Earl of Northampton, a considerable part of that nobleman's large property, and acquired by marriage the estates of the ancient family of Basset, of Blore, in Staffordshire. The fourth, fifth and sixth sons, were Charles, Robert, and William, the two latter of whom were Knights of the Bath; John, the seventh, died young; and Edward, the eighth, and youngest, who was also a Knight of the Bath, was created by Charles the First, Baron Howard of Escrick, in Yorkshire; a lordship which came from his mother, as heir to her uncle, Thomas, Lord Knevet, of Escrick, and which became extinct in his grandson. The Earl of Suffolk's daughters were Elizabeth, wife, first to William Knollys Earl of Banbury, and afterwards to Lord Vaux, from which marriages arose the long agitated, and lately decided question as to the legitimacy of her reputed issue by the first husband: Frances, the frightful circumstances of whose divorce from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and subsequent marriage to Carr, Earl of Somerset, disfigure the history of the reign in which they occurred: and Catherine, married to William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.